The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Editor
HAROLD S. BENDER, *Goshen College*

Associate Editors

ERNST CORRELL
The American University
Washington, D.C.

CARL KREIDER
Goshen College
Goshen, Indiana

J. WINFIELD FRETZ
Bethel College
North Newton, Kansas

ROBERT KREIDER
Bluffton College
Bluffton, Ohio

ROBERT FRIEDMANN
Western Michigan College
Kalamazoo, Michigan

PAUL PEACHEY
Eastern Mennonite College
Harrisonburg, Virginia

MELVIN GINGERICH
Mennonite Research Foundation
Goshen, Indiana

DON. E. SMUCKER
Mennonite Biblical Seminary
Chicago, Illinois

GUY F. HERSHBERGER
Goshen College
Goshen, Indiana

JOHN UMBLE
Goshen College
Goshen, Indiana

CORNELIUS KRAHN
Bethel College
North Newton, Kansas

JOHN C. WENGER
Goshen College
Goshen, Indiana

Contributing Editors

FRITZ BLANKE
University of Zurich
Zurich, Switzerland

J. G. REMPEL
Rosthern, Saskatchewan

WILLARD H. SMITH
Goshen College
Goshen, Indiana

ERNST CROUS
Mennonitische Forschungsstelle
Göttingen, Germany

N. VAN DER ZIJPP
Doopsgezind Theological Seminary
Amsterdam, Netherlands

Volume XXXI
1957

Published by

The Mennonite Historical Society
Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

CBBD

v.31
1957

BERKELEY BAPTIST DIVINITY SCHOOL
SANDFORD FLEMING LIBRARY

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Volume XXXI January, 1957 Number One

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL 4

THE HYMNOLOGY OF THE ANABAPTISTS 5
Harold S. Bender

THE HYMNOLOGY OF THE MENNONITES IN THE NETHERLANDS 11
N. van der Zijpp

FARMING AMONG THE MENNONITES IN WEST AND EAST PRUSSIA, 1534-1945 16
Johannes Driedger

A NOTABLE HUTTERITE DOCUMENT: CONCERNING TRUE SURRENDER AND CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY OF GOODS 22
Translated by Kathleen E. Hasenberg (With an Introduction by Robert Friedmann)

BOOK REVIEWS 63

Roger Ley, *Kirchenzucht bei Zwingli*
A review and discussion by John H. Yoder

Grete Mecenseffy, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Oesterreich*
Reviewed by Robert Friedmann

328974

EDITORIAL

HYMNS PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN THE FORMULATION, COMMUNICATION, AND PERpetuation of faith and piety and so constitute a major testimonial of group life. This is particularly true of Anabaptist hymnology with its hundreds of hymns which have been preserved. Many Anabaptist hymns, often with very many stanzas, are historical and doctrinal or didactic in content, rather than typical songs of worship or expressions of the inner life. The first two articles in the current issue, one on the hymnology of the Anabaptists in general, and the other on the hymnology of the Anabaptists and Mennonites of the Netherlands, are introductions to the general field of Anabaptist and Mennonite hymnology, with special reference to the bibliographical aspects. The REVIEW hopes to print one or more articles on the theology and piety of the Anabaptist hymns.

EXCEPT FOR THE URBAN ANABAPTIST-MENNONITES OF THE NETHERLANDS, WITH the lower Rhine, and the North German cities of Emden, Hamburg, Altona, Danzig, and Elbing, Mennonites until recent times have been almost exclusively rural. Their achievements in agriculture have been noteworthy, whether in South Germany, West Prussia, Russia, or the United States. One of the striking illustrations of this is the agricultural contribution of the compact settlement of West Prussia Mennonites between Danzig and Elbing. Now that their history in this area has been concluded by the tragedies of World War II it is fitting that the agricultural history of this highly significant Mennonite community should be given at least a summary treatment as is done in the article, "Farming Among the Mennonites in West and East Prussia 1534-1945," in this issue, written by a direct participant himself.

IN THE LAST AND LENGTHY ARTICLE IN THIS ISSUE THE REVIEW IS HAPPY TO publish a source document of unusual importance for Hutterite, and therefore Anabaptist, history. It is the classic exposition and defense of Hutterite communism, "Concerning True Surrender and Christian Community of Goods," written in 1577 by Peter Walpot, one of the greatest leaders of the group. Since this doctrine is the most characteristic article of Hutterianism, and unique in Anabaptist teachings, it is the best key to the understanding of the way of life and history of the Hutterite brotherhood. Except for community of goods Hutterite Anabaptism would have been much the same as the general Anabaptism of the Swiss, Dutch, and German types. It is significant to note that according to this document Hutterite community of goods is based not so much upon the specific passages in Acts 2 and 4 describing the apostolic community of goods, as it is upon the concept of Christian brotherly love. Walpot realizes that the demands made upon Christian love by the practice of community of goods are so great that only a deep and complete surrender to God can make it possible. Thus this document contains much more than a mere description of a communistic economic order, for it outlines the theological ground and the inner piety necessary to carry it.

Note: The first three articles in this issue appear simultaneously in Volume II of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia*. The first article is slightly revised in the form in which it appears in the REVIEW.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

THE HYMNOLOGY OF THE ANABAPTISTS

HAROLD S. BENDER

Many of the early Anabaptists were hymn writers, at least 130 being identifiable by name. Among them were Felix Manz, George Blaurock, Michael Sattler, Balthasar Hubmaier, Sigmund Salminger, Jacob Dachser, and Hans Hut of the Germans, Menno Simons and Dirk Philips of the Dutch, and of the Hutterites a large number including Peter Riedemann (at least 46 of his hymns have been preserved), Paul Glock, Antony Erdforter, Offrus Griesinger, Hans Schmid or Raifer, Wolf Sailer, Hans Mändl, and Hauprecht Zapf. Many of the hymns of these writers were included in the several German and Dutch Anabaptist hymnals printed soon after the middle of the sixteenth century (1560, 1562, 1564, 1565), but many others circulated in manuscript form, particularly the Hutterite hymns. A captive Anabaptist of Urbach, Württemberg, in 1598 surrendered two Anabaptist hymnbooks, "a written one and a printed one."[1] Von Liliencron reports an Anabaptist codex in the Wolfenbüttel Library of *ca.* 1578, containing among other items 18 hymns, eight of which he reprints.[2] Th. Unger reports an Anabaptist hymn-codex of the seventeenth century in Graz, consisting of 460 folios. The Hutterite hymnal of 1914 *(Die Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder)* is based largely upon three codices of *ca.* 1600, 1650, and 1660. Just what the written hymnbook of 1598 was remains unknown, since the presence of numerous copies of the printed "Anabaptist songbook" in the Urbach area at that time is attested in the court records. (The burgomaster of Urbach bought one for his children.) Earlier (1573) at Maulbronn

1 Gustav Bossert, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer* I: *Herzogtum Württemberg* (Leipzig, 1930), 725. This source is hereafter referred to as *Täuferakten, Württemberg.*

2 Rochus von Lilienkron, "Zur Liederdichtung der Wiedertäufer," in *Abhandlungen der k. bayer. Akademie des W.* III. Cl. Vol. XIII, Part I, (Munich, 1875), 20-85.

Matthes Binder had received a hymnbook.[3] This hymnbook and Menno Simons' *Foundation-Book* were the most common (and apparently only or chief) books in the possession of captured Anabaptists around the turn of the sixteenth century in Württemberg.[4]

Many of the early hymns were written by prisoners or martyrs. George Blaurock wrote a hymn just before his death as a martyr in 1529, in which he gives his reason for writing in the final words of the hymn, "Therefore will I sing to the praise of Thy name, and eternally proclaim the grace which appeared to me." The oldest section of the *Ausbund* (1564) carries a title which indicates that its hymns were "by the grace of God composed and sung at Passau in the Castle by the Swiss Brethren." This occurred in 1535-37, when Swiss Brethren returning from Moravia were imprisoned at Passau en route. Paul Glock related in a letter he wrote in prison in Hohenwittlingen to Peter Walpot in 1573 that he had composed three hymns which he was sending to Walpot for improvement, and reported, "We read and sing to the glory of God and so pass our time."[5] Eager to comfort and encourage the brethren at home, the prisoners and martyrs wrote spiritual songs which became a part of the hymn treasury of the brotherhood.

The unusual number of Anabaptist hymn writers and hymns suggests that these hymns were much used among the Anabaptists for personal and family reading and singing as well as in the congregations, although of course in times of worst persecution singing was little heard because of the danger. But the Anabaptists did sing; the hymns are assigned tunes in the hymnals—they were not merely literary vehicles. In 1596 it was reported of Peter Ehrenpreis of Urbach that he had won much favor with the people by his manner of life and "with his Anabaptist songs which he is accustomed to sing in his vineyards and elsewhere."[6] Without doubt the hymns were also a factor in Anabaptist evangelism, both read and sung. Christian Neff says, "A flood of religious songs poured over the young brotherhood like a vivifying and refreshing stream. The songs became the strongest attractive force for the brotherhood. They sang themselves into the hearts of many, clothed in popular tunes. They were mostly martyr songs, which breathed an atmosphere of readiness to die and a touching depth of faith. And those that did not report on martyr steadfastness admonished the listener to a devout faith, which was to prove itself in love. Sanctification and its demonstration in life and death is their glorious content."[7] Von Liliencron says, "Love is the great and inexhaustible theme of their hymnody; for love is the sole distinguishing mark of the children of God . . . . For the brethren

3 Letter to Leonhart Reuss, *Täuferakten, Würtemberg,* 708.
4 *Täuferakten, Württemberg, passim.*
5 *Ibid.,* 373.
6 *Ibid.,* 687.
7 *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* 2:86.

love is the 'chief sum' of their being . . . . So these hymns immerse themselves in the concept of the love which is all in all, which takes up its cross with joy, which gives everything in the service of God and the neighbor, which bears all things, and out of which flows all humility and meekness, mercy, and peace."[8] Seldom do the Anabaptist hymns have a dominant didactic or doctrinal character, although doctrine is not absent. Sebastian Franck's characterization of Anabaptist doctrine as teaching nothing but "faith, love, and the cross,"[9] may well be applied to their hymns.

There is evidence that before the production of complete hymnals some Anabaptist hymns were published as single numbers or small pamphlets. An illustration is a hymn by Hans Rogel *(Ausbund,* No. 53), presumably an Anabaptist, which appeared in three printed editions at Augsburg in 1539, and two other hymns by the same author which appeared separately at Augsburg *ca.* 1550 and at Strasbourg.

Apart from manuscript collections, real Anabaptist hymnals did not appear until after the middle of the sixteenth century. Then five hymnals appeared at almost the same time, two German and three Dutch. The Dutch came first, one a martyr hymnal, the *Lietboecxken van den Offer des Heeren* with 25 hymns (later 26 and 28), published always with *Het Offer* in eleven editions in 1563-99; another, a collection of spiritual songs, *Veelderhande Liedekens,* in six editions (1560, 1562, 1566, 1569, 1579, and 1580) with 289 hymns; the third, *Een nieu Liedenboeck* (1562, reprint 1582) with 257 hymns. Late in the century (1582) the noted Hans de Ries issued his *Lietboeck,* which had many reprints but really falls outside the Anabaptist period.

Germany also had an outspoken martyr hymnal, the *Ausbund,* first edition in 1564 *(Etliche schöne Christliche Geseng,* with 53 hymns), first full edition in 1583 with 131 hymns (later increased to 137), with a third edition in 1622 and nine additional reprints in Europe to 1838, as well as many in America beginning with 1742. It was the Swiss Brethren hymnal, and was used in Switzerland and South Germany until at least 1750-1830 in most places, until about 1900 among some of the Amish congregations in France. It is still used by 15,000 Amish members in the United States. The full titles of the editions of 1564 and 1583 are as follows: *Etliche schöne Christliche Gesang, wie sie in der Gefengkniss zu Passaw im Schloss von den Schweitzer Brüdern durch Gottes gnad geticht und gesungen worden* (n.p., 1564), 53 hymns in 119 folios; *Aussbund Etlicher schöner Christlicher Gesang, wie die in der Gefengnuss zu Passaw im Schloss von den Schweitzern, und auch von andern rechtgläubigen Christen hin und her gedicht worden. Allen und jeden Christen, welcher Religion sie auch seyen, unparteilich und fast nützlich zu brauchen* (n.p. 1583),

8 Von Lilienkron, *loc. cit.,* 4-5.
9 Sebastian Franck, *Chronica* (1531).

80 hymns in 432 pages. The second part of this edition is a reprint of the 1564 book with a slightly modified title as follows: *Etliche sehr schöne Christliche Gesenge, wie diesselbigen zu Passaw, von den Schweitzerbrüdern, in der Gefengnuss im Schloss, durch Gottes gnad gedicht und gesungen worden* (n.p., 1583), 51 hymns in 347 pages. The 1583 edition is the first to carry the title *Ausbund,* but Petrus Dathenus, the presiding officer of the Frankenthaler Gespräch of 1571, specifically mentions a *"geistliches Liederbuch, der Ausbund"* in the course of the debate. There may be a lost edition between 1564 and 1571, unless the term "Ausbund" was used by the Swiss Brethren to refer to the 1564 edition.

The other sixteenth-century German Anabaptist hymnal was *Ein schon gesangbüchlein Geistlicher Lieder zusamen getragen auss dem Alten und Neuen Testament Durch fromme Christen und liebhaber Gottes welcher hiefür etliche seind getruckt gewesen aber noch viel darzu getan welche nie in truck ausgangen seindt. In welchen auch ein recht leben und fundament des rechten Christlichen glaubens gelert wirdt. Col. 3. Lehrend und ermanendt euch selbst mit gesangen und lobgesangen und Geistlichen Liederen in der gnadt und singend dem Herrn in ewerem hertzen.* The first edition with 122 hymns appeared about 1565, possibly in Cologne; the second with 133 hymns was printed after 1569; the third with a somewhat changed title and 140 hymns appeared about 1590. This last edition incorporated four hymns from the Dutch *Veelderhande Liedekens.* It was apparently the hymnal of the Anabaptists of the Lower Rhine. Of the first edition no copy is extant; the second contains 234 pages. J. P. Klassen holds that there were a total of five editions.

Unfortunately very few of the Anabaptist hymns carried over into the later Mennonite hymnals of Holland, Germany, and Russia. The reason for this is, at least outside of Holland, that the Mennonites of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, having lost much of the martyr spirit and some of the Anabaptist vision, and coming under the influence of Lutheranism and Pietism, or lacking resources and opportunities to print their own hymnals, actually used the state church hymnals of the areas where they resided, in many places for over a century. When they then began to compile and publish their own hymnals they naturally preferred to take over the hymns with which they had become familiar; they had lost touch with their own hymnological tradition. To be sure, many of the martyr hymns were too narrative in character to be suitable for worship; but the content of the Anabaptist hymnals was by no means exclusively of this type. Some Anabaptist hymns were included in the earliest German Protestant hymnals such as the hymnbook of the Bohemian Brethren by Michael Weisse (1531), and Joh. Zwick's hymnal published at Constance in 1536, *Neu Gesangbüchle.*

An outstanding early Anabaptist leader and hymn writer was Jacob Dachser, preacher and leader of the Augsburg Anabaptist congregation from February, 1527, when he was baptized and installed as assistant pastor by Hans Hut, to his recantation in May, 1531. A graduate of the University of Ingolstadt and a teacher in Augsburg, he composed a number of hymns as an Anabaptist preacher which were published in the Augsburg hymnal of 1529, and which, according to Christian Hege, "are among the best in the collection." Dachser was either the editor or coeditor of the second edition of the Augsburg hymnal in 1532, for which he versified six Psalms. The hymnal of 1537 *(Der gantz Psalter),* published by Sigmund Salminger, also a former Augsburg Anabaptist, contains in addition to several of Dachser's earliest hymns a translation of 42 Psalms by him. In 1538 Dachser published all the Psalms with notes *(Der gantz psalter Davids),* together with an appendix of hymns for church holidays and ceremonies which he wrote. Dachser's Psalter was, to be sure, produced after his recantation, but grew out of what had been begun while he was an Anabaptist preacher.

Christian Hege has pointed out that the changing relationships of the several major groups of Anabaptists with each other can be traced through the interchange of hymns. In the early days the Swiss Brethren and the Anabaptists in Moravia had many hymns in common. Later the divergence and even opposition between the two groups is reflected in the fact that the Hutterites went their own separate way in the matter of hymns. The exchange between Dutch and Swiss-German groups found expression in their printed hymnals. The *Schön Gesangbüchlein* contained not only Swiss-South German hymns which also appeared in the *Ausbund,* but likewise translations of Dutch hymns. The 1583 *Ausbund* contained improved reproductions of these translated Dutch hymns, obviously taken from the *Schön Gesangbüchlein.* Thus the Swiss-South German Anabaptists-Mennonites, through the *Ausbund,* received both Dutch and Hutterite influences in the sixteenth century and later. The Anabaptists of the Lower Rhine region, the producers of the *Schön Gesangbüchlein,* apparently had few hymns of their own.

The outstanding work on Anabaptist hymnology, a most thorough and scholarly treatise, is Rudolf Wolkan's *Die Lieder der Wiedertäufer, Ein Beitrag zur deutschen und niederländischen Litteratur- und Kirchengeschichte* (Berlin, 1903), 295 pages. Besides the chapters, "The Oldest Hymns of the Anabaptists," "The Oldest Hymns of the Swiss Brethren," "Dutch Hymns," "Mennonite Hymns in Germany," "The Later Hymns of the Swiss Brethren," and "The Hymns of the Hutterites," the book includes a list of Anabaptist hymn writers (130 in number), a list of the Dutch Anabaptist hymns mentioned (119 in number), and a list of all hymns of the German Anabaptists (931 in number). Wolkan attempts to give the prove-

nance of all the hymns in the two German Anabaptist hymnals. Philipp Wackernagel's *Das deutsche Lied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts,* Vol. III (Leipzig, 1870) contains a section (pp. 441-86) headed "Die Lieder der ersten Wiedertäufer," in which 45 hymns, Nos. 498-542, are reprinted with annotations. The writers of some of these hymns were not really Anabaptists, as e.g., Thomas Müntzer with ten hymns and Ludwig Haetzer with three. The remaining authors in order are Hans Hut (4), George Blaurock (2), Felix Manz, Hans Koch, and Lenhart Meister, George Wagner (2), Hans Langenmantel, Leopold Scharnschlager, Oswald Glait (9), Henslein von Bilach, Leopold Schneider, Hans Schlaffer, Annelein von Freiburg, Jörg Steinmetz, Seven Brethren (2). Wackernagel's *Lieder der niederländischen Reformierten aus der Zeit der Verfolgung im 16. Jahrhundert (Beiträge zur niederländischen Hymnologie,* No. 1, Frankfurt, 1876) devotes pages 79-147 to an exact reproduction of 68 Dutch Anabaptist hymns, 46 from *Veelderhande Liedekens* (edition of 1569), 21 from *Een nieu Liedenboeck* (edition of 1562), and one from Hans de Ries' *Lietboeck* of 1582. On pages 194-208 Wackernagel reproduces eleven more Dutch Anabaptist hymns, three from the 1570 edition of the *Lietboecxken* of *Het Offer,* and eight from another printed source of 1577. The introductory section reproduces in bibliographically complete form the title pages, prefaces, and conclusions of all the above books.[10]

How many of the hymns contained in the Anabaptist hymnals described above had Anabaptists for their authors has not yet been fully determined. It is clear, however, that a considerable number were written by non-Anabaptist authors. From what non-Anabaptist hymnals or other printed sources these were taken has also not yet been fully determined. The last word on Anabaptist hymnology cannot be spoken until further research has been done.

10 See Christian Neff, "Gesang" and "Gesangbücher," *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* 2:85-91; and Christian Hege, "Liederdichtung," *ibid.,* 2:652 ff.

THE HYMNOLOGY OF THE MENNONITES IN THE NETHERLANDS

N. VAN DER ZIJPP

Anabaptists and Mennonites even in the earliest period sang hymns in their meetings when it was possible to do so. Mostly it was impossible to sing together, because in the period of persecution singing would attract the attention of the government officers, who eagerly tracked down the Anabaptists, and there are a few cases of meetings being surprised by the officers because the singing had betrayed them. But among the earliest Anabaptists many songs *(liedekens)* were known. Anneken Jans was arrested in January, 1539, at Rotterdam, because a "heretical song" that she had sung in the ferryboat had betrayed her. In prison the martyrs often took up a hymn to comfort themselves and each other, and of a number of martyrs it is mentioned that they were singing a hymn while going to the execution places.

As to what kind of hymns they sang no definite answer can be given. Only in two or three cases do we have information. Reytse Aysesz, executed at Leeuwarden in 1574, on the way to his execution began the hymn, "Ic roep U, o Hemelsche Vader aen, Wilt myn geloove stercken" (I call to Thee, heavenly Father, wilt thou strengthen my faith).[1] Another martyr sang, "Ic arm scaep aen groener heyde" (I poor sheep on the green heath), which was a familiar medieval song.

Soon there were in circulation a number of hymns composed by the martyrs themselves in prison (as is mentioned of many of them), or composed by others, all unknown poets, to celebrate their martyrdom. These hymns, rhymed versions of their trials and accounts of their sufferings and death, must have been clandestinely printed on separate sheets and circulated shortly after the death of a martyr, as is evident in the case of the "liedeken" on Anneken Jans, which was sung on the streets of Hamburg only a few weeks after her death (1539).

In the second half of the sixteenth century these single hymns were collected and compiled in songbooks. In 1562-63 a collection of hymns by and about martyrs was published, together with the oldest Dutch martybook, *Het Offer des Heeren.* The name of the collection of hymns was *Lietboecxken van den Offer des Heeren.* This *Lietboecxken* was reprinted together with the *Offer* at least ten times (last edition in 1599). Besides these historical hymns another type of hymns, called *Schriftuurlijke Liedekens* (Scriptural Hymns), or *Geestelijke Liedekens* (Spiritual Hymns), were used among the Mennonites, and soon pushed aside the martyr songs. As early as 1560 the first hymnal of this type was published by Nicolaes Biestkens. It is entitled *Veelderhande Liedekens.* This first edition has been lost, as

1 Tileman Jansz van Bragt, *Het Bloedigh Tooneel of Martelaers Spiegel der Doops-gesinde of Weereloose Christenen . . .* (Amsterdam, 1685), 2:690; English edition, *Martyrs' Mirror* (Scottdale, Pa., 1951), 1005.

was also a second edition of 1562; of the following editions of 1566, an undated edition, one of 1569, one of 1579, and one of 1580, copies are still extant. Of a second collection, printed in 1562 by Biestkens and entitled *Een nieu Liedenboeck*, there is only one copy extant, found in the Amsterdam Mennonite Library. This *Nieu Liedenboeck* was reprinted at Amsterdam in 1582 by Biestkens under the title *Het Tweede Liedenboeck* (the second hymnal). Van Braght[2] mentions a *Rotterdamsch Liedboeck*. What kind of hymnal this was is unknown, since no copy of it has been found. These hymnbooks may all have been used in Mennonite congregations. They are all without notes and could be sung according to the melody which is announced at the top of each hymn. In most cases two melodies are given. These melodies are of well-known songs, both secular and spiritual, sometimes of a Psalm used in the Reformed Church.

The Dutch Mennonites of the sixteenth century did not sing psalms as the Calvinists did. Reytse Aysesz about 1570 was accused by a Reformed preacher that whereas they (the Reformed) sang the Biblical Psalms of David, the Mennonites used songs made by man, but Reytse was comforted by the thought that their (Mennonite) hymns were made according to the Scriptures.[3]

Among the authors of these *Schriftuurlycke Liedekens* are Menno Simons, Dirk Philips, Joost Eeeuwouts, Jacques Outerman, Hans de Ries, Claes Ganglofs, Leenaert Clock, Jan Jacobsz, and Pieter Jansz Twisck, as well as a large number of anonymous poets.

In the early seventeenth century the *Veelderhande Liedekens* and other old songbooks were largely replaced. New hymnals were composed and put into use. It is impossible to enumerate all of them, since more than one hundred different hymnals were published between 1582 and 1790. Some of the most important were Hans de Ries, *Lietboeck* of 1582 (many reprints under varying titles); Carel van Mander, *De Gulden Harpe* (1599); Leenaert Clock, *Het Groote Liedeboeck* (1625); *Het Gheestelyck Kruydt-Hofken* (1637); *Het Rijper Liedtboecxken* (1637); *'t Kleyn Hoorns-Liet-boeck* (1644-45); *'t Groot Hoorns Liedtboeck* (1647); Claes Stapel, *Lusthof der Zielen* (about 1680, 2d ed. 1682, 3rd ed. 1729); *Lusthof des Gemoeds* (1732); *De Geestelijke Goudschaale*, 1st ed. in 1662 at Franeker, 2d ed. 1683 at Leeuwarden, 4th ed. 1751. These songbooks were used in the different branches of the Dutch Mennonites. For example, the Waterlanders used de Ries's hymnbook, the Old Flemish van Mander's *Gulden Harpe*, and the Groningen Old Flemish *Lusthof des Gemoeds*. Many of these hymnals did not contain original hymns, but largely borrowed from each other. With the exception of van Mander's hymnbook the poetical quality of these hymns is rather mediocre or less. As is said in the preface of many of these hymnals, they were intended not only for congregational singing, but also for private use, or to be read "for the edification of souls."

As mentioned above, the early Anabaptists and Mennonites did not sing Psalms, but this changed in the seventeenth century. Quite

2 *Martyrs' Mirror* (Dutch), 665; (English), 683.
3 *Ibid.* (Dutch), 686; (English), 1001.

early, Hans de Ries, a champion of Psalm-singing, had inserted in the 1624 edition of his hymnal all 150 Psalms, in the rhymed version of Dathenus, and from then on singing of Psalms became more and more usual. In the Flemish congregation of Amsterdam about 1630 a fine had to be paid every time the preacher allowed any other hymn to be sung but a Psalm.[4] But the clumsy version of Dathenus did not satisfy; so the Lam and Toren congregation of Amsterdam introduced in 1684 a new Psalmbook, rhymed by the Mennonites J. Oudaen, D. R. Camphuyzen, Galenus Abrahamsz, and others. In 1713 the Haarlem congregation replaced Dathenus' version by a psalter rhymed by Vondel, Hooft, Westerbaen, Rooleeuw, and other poets in 1713. Some other congregations introduced either the Amsterdam or the Haarlem Psalter. The Amsterdam Zonist congregation used the Dathenus version until 1762, when it was replaced by a Psalmbook rhymed by the literary association "Laus Deo Salus Populo." This version too was used in a number of Dutch Mennonite congregations. In most cases some other hymnbook was used in addition to the psalter. From the end of the eighteenth century the singing of Psalms decreased in favor of hymns.

Since the old hymnbooks were no longer available, or were little appreciated, they went out of use, except in a few congregations like Ameland, where *De Geestelijke Goudschaale* was in use until 1818,[5] and in Aalsmeer, Giethoorn, and Balk, which used the *Kleyn Hoorns Lietboeck*—reprinted as late as 1814—until the nineteenth century, Balk until 1854[6] and Aalsmeer even until 1862.[7] The congregation at Grouw used the hymnal by Stapel until about 1800. A number of new hymnals appeared, all bearing the traits of that rationalistic time. The congregation of Rotterdam introduced a new hymnal in 1776; the Amsterdam Lamist congregation compiled the *Kleine bundel* in 1791, the Amsterdam Zonist congregation the *Groote bundel* in 1796. Hamburg-Altona, then still using hymnals in the Dutch language, composed the *Altonasche Liederen* in 1802. Haarlem introduced a new hymnal in 1804, Zwolle one in 1808. All these hymnals were not only in use in the congregations which had compiled them, but also in other congregations, as was especially a songbook called *Uitgezochte Liederen,* composed by a committee and published in 1809, which was introduced in about twenty congregations. Most of the hymns of all these hymnals were borrowed from older songbooks though the words of the hymns occasionally were much altered. Often the same hymns were found in all these songbooks, most of which also contained a number of Psalms. Some Mennonite congregations introduced the Reformed *Evangelische Gezangen* of 1805.

From about 1850 nearly all these hymnals were replaced by new ones. After an attempt to get only one hymnal for common use by Dutch Mennonites had miscarried, both Amsterdam and Haarlem compiled new hymnals, Amsterdam in 1848 (*Christelijke Gezangen,*

4 *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* (1685), 69.
5 *Ibid.* (1890), 7.
6 *Ibid.* (1892), 56, 65 ff.
7 *Ibid.* (1862), 147.

two volumes) and again two volumes in 1895 *(Doopsgezinde Liederen)*, to which a supplement was added in 1916, and Haarlem introduced new hymnals, *Christelijke Kerkgezangen* in 1851 and *Doopsgezinde Liederen* and the Lutheran hymnbook, both in 1895. Both these Amsterdam and Haarlem songbooks came to be used by a number of other congregations, as was a new hymnal introduced in 1893 at Groningen and Deventer, *119 Christelijke Kerkgezangen.*

In the meantime a number of Mennonite congregations had put into use a hymnal composed by the Union of Dutch (liberal) Christians *(Nederlandsche Protestantenbond),* which had been published in 1882, as well as the two hymnals of the Remonstrants. In 1897 two Mennonite ministers, J. Sepp and H. Boetje, published *Gezangen ten gebruike in Doopsgezinde Gemeenten.* This hymnal, in 1900 enlarged by an anthology from the Psalms and usually called *Leidsche Bundel,* became the songbook of many congregations, though it was not introduced in all congregations as the authors had hoped.

In 1900 the following hymnals were in use (some congregations used two or even four different hymnbooks): *Het Boek der Psalmen* (Reformed Psalter) in 82 congregations; *Godsdienstige Liederen* of the "Protestantenbond" in 31; *Liedsche Bundel* in 27; *Groote Bundel* in 26; *Evangelische Gezangen* (hymns of the Dutch Reformed Church) in 18; *Vervolgbundel op de Evangelische Gezangen* (appendix to the hymns of the Reformed Church) in 14; *Uitgezochte Liederen* in 13; *Christelijke Liederen* II (Amsterdam hymnbook of 1870) in 11; *Doopsgezinde Liederen* (Haarlem hymnal I and II, of 1895) in 9; *Evangelische Gezangen, uitgegeven vanwege de Remonstrantsche Broederschap* (Remonstrant hymnaries I and II) in 7; *Kleine Bundel* (1791) in 6; *Christelijke Liederen* (Amsterdam hymnbook I of 1870) in 6; *Christelijke Gezangen uitgegeven door de Synode der Evangelisch-Luthersche Kerk, 1884* (Haarlem hymnal II of 1895) in 5; *Christelijke Kerkgezangen* (Haarlem hymnal of 1851) in 5; *Het Boek der Psalmen volgens de overzetting van het dichtgenootschap Laus Deo Salus Populo* of 1759 in 2; *Zwolsche Liederen* in 1.

In 1940 these figures were: *Godsdienstige Liederen* of the "Protestantenbond" in 73 congregations; *Vervolgbundel van de Godsdienstige Liederen* of the "Protestantenbond" in 60; *Leidsche Bundel* in 45; *Het Boek der Psalmen* in 20; *Evangelische Gezangen* in 7; *Vervolgbundel op de Evangelische Gezangen* in 5; *Christelijke Liederen* II in 3; *Doopsgezinde Liederen* I in 3; *Christelijke Gezangen, uitgegeven door de Synode der Evangelisch-Luthersche Kerk* in 3; *Aanhangsel* (Appendix) to the Amsterdam hymnal (1916) in 2; *Groote Bundel, Kleine Bundel,* and Psalms *Laus Deo,* each in 1.

All these hymnbooks were put out of use in 1944, when a new hymnal, entitled *Liederenbundel ten dienste van de Doopsgezinde Broederschap* and commonly called *Doopsgezinde Bundel,* appeared. It came into being by the co-operation of the Mennonites, the Remonstrants, and the Dutch Protestantenbond. The Mennonites use the main body of 250 hymns, followed by a special appendix of 50 hymns, which are not inserted in the Remonstrant and Protestanten-

bond hymnals. All Mennonite congregations, except three, introduced this new hymnal.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth century only one hymn was sung at the beginning and one at the close of the meeting, and this remained the custom in conservative groups such as Groningen Old Flemish and Jan-Jacobsz group until the end of the eighteenth century. About the middle of the seventeenth century both Lamist and Zonist congregations, obviously influenced by the practice of the Reformed Church, sang a hymn at three different times. At present most congregations sing three hymns at different times during the services, but sometimes also four and five. From about 1770 the churches gradually installed pipe organs to accompany the singing of the congregation.

Because Dutch hymns were sung until the end of the eighteenth century or even until the beginning of the nineteenth century in Prussia, and also in Hamburg-Altona, mention should be made here of some hymnals in the Dutch language used in Prussia. As early as 1597 *Sommige andachtighe ende leerachtige Gheestelicke Liedekens* were published at Amsterdam but intended for the Mennonites in Prussia. Obviously they were used in the Frisian congregations. A 1638 edition of this hymnal (published at Haarlem, Holland) was used in the Frisian congregation of Montau, West Prussia. A *Pruys Liedt-boeck* (Amsterdam, 1604), with an Introduction by I.I. from Danzig, was followed by the *Tweede Pruys Liedtboeksken* in 1607. A number of Dutch Mennonite hymnals, mentioned before, such as the hymnal of Hans de Ries, the *Kleyn Hoorns Lietboeck,* and the *Lusthof des Gemoeds,* were also frequently used in the Prussian congregations. In the correspondence between the Prussian Mennonites and the congregations of Amsterdam and Groningen the request was frequently made to send Dutch hymnbooks to Prussia, and in 1753 a hymnal for Prussia is mentioned to be printed in the Netherlands.[8]

The Flemish congregation of Hamburg-Altona, from 1685, used *Gesanghboek of Gesanghen, om op alle feestdagen en vor en na de predicatie in de Vergaderingen te singen* (Hamburg, 1685). The *Christelijke Gezangen voor de openbaare Godsdienstoeffeningen* of 1802, usually called *Altonasche Liederen,* was also in the Dutch language and printed at Amsterdam.

8 J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, *Inventaris der Archiefstukken berustende bij de Vereenigde Doopsgezinde Gemeente te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1883), I, No. 1600.

FARMING AMONG THE MENNONITES IN WEST AND EAST PRUSSIA, 1534-1945

JOHANN DRIEDGER*

Mennonites practiced agriculture for over 400 years in West and East Prussia, most of their families being farmers throughout the entire period of their occupancy, 1534-1945. In West Prussia their historic location was in the lowlands of the Vistula delta; in East Prussia it was in the lowlands of the Memel River near Tilsit where they first settled in 1713. The chief and extraordinary agricultural achievements of the Mennonite farmers lie in the field of land drainage. It was only their proved ability to make tillable the land lying below sea level that secured the privilege of settlement in the Vistula delta for the Dutch Mennonite refugees of 1534 and later, since the political sovereignty of the area at that time was in the hands of a strongly clerical and intolerant Poland.

The Order of Teutonic Knights had, to be sure, built the great Vistula dikes and drainage establishments; but the skill of the century-old Dutch drainage techniques was necessary to drain completely the shallow lagoons and swamps of the Vistula delta, much of which lay as much as six feet below sea level. Furthermore, after the disappearance of the Order there was no strong authority which understood how to operate for the common good. The drainage arrangements which had been built were scattered widely over the area. As a consequence the great breaks in the dikes in 1540 and 1545 inundated the whole territory of the Danzig Werder for years, reducing it to a watery waste which gradually became overgrown with reeds and rushes, since it lay below sea level. The master of the Order, Konrad von Jungingen, stated in one of his documents regarding the inhabitants of the village of Petershagen near Tiegenhof, "They have only watery land and boundary dikes."

In 1547-50 the drainage of this entire low territory was begun in all three sectors of the Vistula delta on a forty-mile front, from Drausensee through the Ellerwald area and the Grosswerder to the gates of Danzig. It was a gigantic undertaking. The landowners of this territory, namely, the Polish king, the Catholic Church, the cities of Danzig and Elbing, and the Polish barons, leased blocks of land ranging in size from 250 to 2,500 acres to Mennonite leasing associations. These associations constituted at one and the same time village communities and drainage companies, and were obligated to pay the

* Johann Driedger, formerly a farmer-minister of the Heubuden-Marienburg congregation in East Prussia, now resides at the Weierhof in the Palatinate.

landowners a joint rent as well as to assume responsibilities for the drainage of the land. It is clear from the surviving drainage installations that the boundaries of the individual leaseholds were chosen with consideration of the natural elevations of the land which would make possible satisfactory diking as well as in consideration of the possible channels for discharge of the water.

The land area of each of the associations had to be diked off against the inroads of water from the outside, and accordingly the associations had to join each other in arrangements to dike in the channels for the discharge water. Then a windmill was erected at the lowest place in the land area at the outlet channel, which then was constantly worked to lower the water level of the polder which it served. Side channels then had to be dug out to make possible the steady flow of water to the windmill, since the drop in the land level was very gentle. These side channels were so arranged that the smallest parcels of land were from about 2½ to 7½ acres in size. These individual tracts then had to be so leveled that there was a slight drop in the surface. Water furrows were then marked at right angles to the plow furrows to make possible the rapid discharge of rain water, since the land in any case also suffered under a high ground water level. The land also had to be cleared of all bushes and grass. All this hand labor became a very severe burden to the families of the settlers, who seldom possessed any capital. An extraordinary skill was required to avoid unnecessary work in the erection of each drainage polder and for other drainage work if this enormous job was to be made possible for the weak labor resources available. In addition to all this there was swamp fever. It is reported that 80 per cent of the first settlers died from it.

This first and most difficult drainage work took from three to four generations. The first fruit of the drainage was meadows and pastures with excellent grass. Since the drainage channels with their low dikes carried water which stood considerably higher than the surrounding land there was great danger in rainy seasons or snow thaws that the north wind would blow and drive the water of the Baltic back into the land and through the channels into the rear areas so high that the windmills would not dare to pump the water out of the polders, since in that case the dikes would have been immediately flooded. Consequently the polders were often flooded, and this was tolerable only for meadows and pastures.

The grassy pastures called for a very intelligent handling of the cattle to be pastured. The Prussian Mennonites therefore took up dairying. By careful breeding they were able to develop a high quali-

ty milk-producing cow which was given the popular name "Milk Boat." Until modern times it was proverbial among the cattle dealers of Germany to say, "The best milk cow of Germany grows around Neuteich," the settlement area of the West Prussian Mennonites. The Dutch Mennonite immigrants brought with them from Holland the knowledge and skills essential to the conquest of the pasture land and the successful improvement of milk production and the use of the milk. For this purpose they developed flat funnellike earthen milk containers with a large surface area which aided the rise of the cream. They also developed butter casks and the art of cheese making. The very good Werder cheese was a special Mennonite product. The Mennonites of Memel district developed a special cheese even in the first years of their settlement there, of which they annually delivered tons to the markets in Königsberg and Tilsit. This "Tilsit cheese" became a famous product which found a market all over Germany and which has retained its reputation to the present day.

But the Mennonites of the Vistula delta did not settle only in areas which lay below sea level but also in swampy areas which lay above sea level but had poor drainage because of lack of discharge channels. In such areas they also succeeded in draining considerable tracts of land through development of controlled discharge channels. On such land wheat and rape could be planted in addition to the raising of dairy cattle. This combination of grain raising and cattle raising gave the Mennonite farmers a considerable advantage above their other neighbors in the delta since they were able to use a considerable amount of animal manure at a time when artificial fertilizers were not yet available.

While the men achieved extraordinary results through their drainage work, the milking and conversion of the milk into other dairy products was the extraordinary achievement of the Mennonite women in comparison to the other farm women of the area. These achievements, due to the great industry of the Mennonites, were well known, as may be seen from the statement of the administrator of Marienburg at the 1676 Landtag when he said: "One can easily detect where a lazy drunken peasant or an industrious and sober Mennonite lives."

In the building of the barns and houses in the below sea level farms care had to be taken to locate the building area above the high water. Since the earth necessary to build these elevated locations had to be hauled in from considerable distances, the farmyards were small. This explains also why in small farms up to possibly 45 acres, the dwelling house, and stables, and barn were built together in a

row under one common thatched roof, called "Riehenhof." In the case of larger farms this "row" would soon get too long and waste too much land for the approach. Consequently, an "angle" farmyard was constructed, in which the dwelling house and stable were built in one row but the barn of approximately equal length was built on at right angles. The farmyard was then located inside the angle. The exit road led around the barn and served at the same time as the rear exit from the barn and the exit for the manure pile, which was located on the opposite side of the stable. When the farm exceeded 125 acres in size a cross-shaped farmstead was constructed. Here the barn was built crosswise to the stable and on both sides of it. By this manner of construction the shortest cut was achieved for the route to haul the hay and straw from the barn to the stable. This corresponds in a large degree to the recommended method of construction of a farmstead in our day.

It is noteworthy that the agricultural settlements of the Mennonites in West Prussia through the centuries remained intact longest in those areas where a systematic drainage of the land was an absolute necessity. The necessary communal task of drainage required a sense of community which was natural to the Mennonites. Futhermore, the originally unfruitful lands which they occupied were freed from many of the taxes and levies which other lands had to carry. On the other hand the Mennonites resisted with all their strength the labor which was required of them on the dikes and for the villages which had been established by the Teutonic Order. Serfdom to other persons was an abomination to them and they sought with every means at their command to keep their young people out of the low type of life which was common among the hired farm laborers, both men and women, of the larger peasant farmers in the villages. A noteworthy characteristic of the Mennonite farms in Prussia was the well-ordered garden. Until the very end of the Mennonite settlements one could always determine where a Mennonite lived from the state of the garden.

With the development of the steam engine a change came into the drainage procedures in the Vistula delta. The more powerful pumps of the steam engine were able to do so much better work than the windmill, and the circular pump was able to lift the water so much higher than the mill wheel that the smaller polders could readily be combined and the water level could be lowered still further. The further development of motor power through the use of the big Diesel motor, as well as the increasing interest of the state in aiding the agricultural development of its people, led to a still fur-

ther consolidation of the drainage units and to a deeper drop in the ground water level. As a result the whole area of the Grosswerder was finally consolidated into two great drainage areas lying on both sides of the Schwente. One of these areas lay along the Elbing Vistula and the other at the "Jungfersche Lake." They were protected by dams from flooding from the side of the Baltic. The last areas where there was swamp fever then disappeared, and wheat and sugar beets could be raised everywhere. This final consummation of the drainage work of the Mennonite settlers was only achieved during World War II.

Because of the general rise in the standard of living and the consequent demand for meat in the second half of the century it became necessary to substitute a heavier more meaty type of milk cow for the earlier purely milk Werder cow. This development was inaugurated by the Mennonite Cornelius Jansson of Tiege, who imported in 1852 a high quality breeding bull of the black and white East Frisian type of Dutch origin. For the same reason the Mennonite Gerhard Wiebe of Gross-Lesewitz introduced breeding stock of the Holstein Wilsermarsch. This East Frisian type with its greater milk production won out in the competition and led to the establishment of the West Prussian registered cattle association. West Prussian Mennonites remained the leaders in this successful breeding association both on the breeding side and the marketing side. The Mennonite Gustav Friesen of Klein-Lichtenau three times won the gold medal (1936-38) for the best milk production of any herd in the territory. His best herd production for one year was an average of 13,860 (European) pounds of milk with 4 per cent butter fat per cow. The last president of the association was Ernst Penner of Liessau. Chairman of the cattle co-operative of Danzig-West Prussia, with an annual turnover of $9,000,000 in beef cattle and $1,000,000 in milk cattle, was Johann Driedger of Heubuden.

As a result of the expansion of the acreage of the Mennonite farmers in West Prussia following the lowering of the ground water level, and the cancellation of the restrictive regulation against Mennonites, the creative activity of the Mennonites in the area of agriculture was considerable increased. In the second half of the nineteenth century the Mennonite Epp of Quadendorf produced a type of wheat, under the name "Quadendorf Epp Wheat," which found wide distribution in West Prussia far beyond purely Mennonite farmers. The Mennonite Ernst Wiens of Damerau achieved the highest ranking in 1930 in the evaluation per acre of all the agriculture operations of similar character in the entire German national

area. This was a result of his careful handling of his land. The biggest sugar beet producer in the Vistula delta in 1944 was the above-named Ernst Penner of Liessau, who harvested 30,000 dozen sugar beets.

The three top executives of the Dike associations in the Vistula delta who had the responsibility for the maintenance of all the river dikes and the supervision of the whole drainage process were always Mennonites on the basis of a free selection, although the Mennonites did not have either by number or by area the majority.

A NOTABLE HUTTERITE DOCUMENT CONCERNING TRUE SURRENDER AND CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY OF GOODS

Being Article Three of *The Great Article Book* of the Hutterian Brethren, written by Peter Walpot about 1577 and translated from the original German by Kathleen Hasenberg, with an introduction by Robert Friedmann.

Introduction

Doctrinal writings among the German and Swiss Anabaptists of the sixteenth century are comparatively rare. For this reason the three major writings of this type produced by the Hutterian Brethren and carefully preserved through the centuries are especially welcome. In fact, they are a major element in the foundations of this brotherhood which have enabled it to survive in almost its original form to the present day.[1] These three writings are: 1. The *Account of Our Religion and Faith* (*Rechenschaft*) by Peter Rideman, drawn up in 1540-41 and printed in 1565.[2] 2. *The Great Article Book,* in its original edition called *Ein Schön Lustig Büchlein Etliche Hauptartikeln Unseres Christlichen Glaubens* [betreffend], . . . *auch wie es die Welt verkehrt hat und darwider lebt und strebt.* In its elaborate form it dates back to 1577, and in all likelihood was drawn up by the bishop or *Vorsteher* of the brotherhood, Peter Walpot (1519-78), although it may safely be assumed that other brethren gave their assistance in the work. 3. The *Handbüchlein wider den Prozess,* . . . , etc. of (about) 1558, an anonymous tract, answering the accusations of a number of Lutheran theologians (in the *Prozess,* etc., 1557), and also most probably drafted in its main outlines by Peter Walpot, at that time not yet bishop but already a leading minister (*Diener am Wort*) of the Moravian communities.[3]

Concerning the *Article Book* only a few remarks can be presented here.[4] Its origins go back to a religious debate (*Religionsgespräch*) between the Hutterian and the Gabrielite Brethren in 1545,[5] which finally led to a joining of the Gabrielites with the Moravian group. Subsequently the main points of that memorable debate were condensed into five articles, concerning a) Baptism (of adults), b) the Lord's Supper, c) Community of Goods, d) Warfare and Nonresistance, e) Divorce Between Believers and Unbelievers. These articles are in the main compilations of appropriate Scripture texts together

1 Another element of this foundation is the oral tradition of the brotherhood, the self-perpetuating spirit which has been kept amazingly alive all through the centuries.

2 *Account of Our Religion, Doctrine and Faith,* given by Peter Rideman, etc., The Plough Publishing House (Bromdon, Bridgnorth, Shropshire, England, 1950), 283.

3 Cf. "The Anabaptists Answer Melanchthon": (I) "The Handbüchlein of 1558," Wilhelm Wiswedel; (II) "Some Further Studies Pertaining to the Handbüchlein of 1558," Robert Friedmann, in *Mennonite Quarterly Review,* XXIX (October, 1955), 212-31.

4 For more details compare the study by Robert Friedmann, "Eine Dogmatische Hauptschrift der Hutterischen Täufergemeinschaften in Mähren," in *Archiv für Reformationsgesichte* XXVIII (1931), 80-111, 207-40, and XXIX (1932), 1-17. Cf. also by the same author the article "Article Book, Hutterite," in *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* Vol. I, (Scottdale, 1955), 173-74.

5 *Geschichtbuch der Hutterischen Brüder,* ed. R. Wolkan (Vienna, 1923), 195-200, or *Die Aelteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder,* ed. A. J. F. Zieglschmid (Philadelphia, 1943), 251-56.

with quotations from the church fathers and other authorities, tied together by comments of the writer. This oldest form of our document is called *Die Fünf Artikel des Grössten Streites Zwischen Uns und der Welt,* and as such was incorporated into the great Chronicle of the Brethren, the *Geschicht-Buch,* inserted at the year 1547.[6] Thirty years later Peter Walpot, then 58 years of age, took advantage of the peaceful years in Moravia, the so-called "golden period," and elaborated greatly upon these five articles. The result was a work, anonymously distributed, of about 300 leaves quarto in manuscript, entitled *Ein Schön Lustig Büchlein,* etc. In it the arguments of each article are presented *punktweis,* that is, point by point.[7]

In view of the fact that the principle of community of goods was and still is the most salient characteristic of the Hutterite type of Anabaptism, the third article is perhaps of greater interest today than the other articles, and the arguments for this type of Christian living appear particularly relevant, all the more since Peter Rideman in his great *Rechenschaft* failed to put major emphasis upon this point. Likewise, also the *Handbüchlein* of 1558 touches but slightly the same issue. Thus, the classic defense of the principle of community of goods is this third article of the *Schön Lustig Büchlein.*[8]

The Christian demand for the sharing of worldly goods (both in their consumption and in their production) is here argued in a twofold way: 1. By reference to brotherly love in its fullest extent where no one can speak any longer of mine and thine. *Gemeinschaft ist nichts anderes als aus Liebe zum Nächsten alles gemein haben.* 2. By reference to *Gelassenheit,* an old German term of medieval origin, not easy to translate but in general meaning self-surrender, yielding to the divine commandments, resignation, giving up all self-willing, etc. To the Hutterites this term assumes definitely also a material connotation, namely, the surrender of all one's personal goods to the community at large so that they no longer belong to anyone personally. This means the *lassen* or giving away of such goods, the very realization of discipleship on the level of economics, as the Hutterite understood it. The frequent reference to the Scriptural passages Acts 2 and 4 as the New Testamental model of such a life is rather secondary in this connection and should not be overstressed.

In brief, to the Hutterite understanding, the retention of property within one's private possession is a sort of keeping back from full discipleship, and they call this *Geiz,* i.e., avarice or greed. Naturally the Brethren knew only too well that of all the demands upon a disciple of Christ this kind of *Gelassenheit* (including spiritual and material surrender) is perhaps the hardest of all, and they call it walking the "narrow path," requiring much inner self-conquest. "Communal living would not be hard, if there were not such self-regard."[9]

6 Published *Geschichtbuch,* ed. Wolkan, 208-40; Zieglschmid, 269-316. Also Lydia Müller published parts of this document in her book, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Täufgesinnter* (Leipzig, 1938), 238-56.

7 A general summary of these articles may be found in Robert Friedmann's study, mentioned in note 4, *Arch. f. Ref. Gesch.* XXVIII (1931), 207-12.

8 There exist also a number of most remarkable private letters with such a defense or apology, mainly Claus Braidl's very long epistle to Christian Raussenberger, a Swiss Brother, written 1601, and scheduled to be published in the near future.

9 John Horsch, *The Hutterian Brethren* (Goshen, Ind., 1931), 74.

Among the many references in the *Article Book* to old authorities a particular one should be singled out for a few remarks. It is to be found in Point 148 of this Third Article where the *Pseudo-Clementine Fourth Epistle*[10] is quoted as a proof that such community of goods was practiced among believers in A.D. 92, not only in Jerusalem but at many other places as well. A learned reference of this kind is certainly unusual. Today we know that the source was in all likelihood Sebastian Franck's *Chronica, Zeitbuch und Geschichtsbibel* of 1531, where the Fourth Clementine Epistle is presented in a German translation from the Latin version published previously in 1526.[11] Further references point to Augustine, John Chrysostom, the *German Theology,* and other authorities; in most instances Sebastian Franck may be assumed as the mediator for such scholarly arguments.

The *Article Book* is extant in about twenty-three manuscripts, and is known in five different versions of unequal length. The *Schön Lustig Büchlein* in particular exists at least in the following eight copies: (1) Primavera, Paraguay, a codex of 1640 (248 leaves, 4°); (2) Göttingen, Library of the University (formerly Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin), a codex of 1602 (255 leaves, 4°); (3 and 4) two copies in the library of the Archbishop and Primate of Hungary in Esztergom (Gran), Hungary; (5) one copy in the Library of the Evangelical Church of Bratislava, Czecho-Slovakia, a codex of 1583 (the so-called *Codex Zuckenhammer,* a beautifully written work); (6) one copy in the City Archive of Bratislava, a codex of about 1640-50 (274 leaves); (7 and 8) two eighteenth-century copies among the Hutterite Brethren in Canada, written at the former Bruderhofs of the Ukraine. It is planned to have a complete German edition published of the excellently preserved Göttingen codex together with other Anabaptist material in Volume II of the *Glaubenszeugnisse deutscher Täufer,* edited by the late Lydia Müller and Robert Friedmann (*Täuferakten* series). Two shorter versions in print are known: (1) in the *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder* as the *Fünf Artikel des grössten Streits,* etc. (see above), and (2) in the so-called *Schriftmässiger Bericht,* etc., being a section of the *Geistliches Blumengärtlein* (Amsterdam, 1680), and later reprinted by L. Schwabe in his study "Ueber Hans Denck" in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* XII (1891), 466-93.

In the meantime, The Society of Brothers, which previously had done such a splendid work with the publication of the English version of Rideman's *Account,* of 1540, felt the great need to have this Article Three translated into English also, in order to make the main arguments for communal living better known to all English-speaking brothers and sisters. Thus Kathleen E. Hasenberg, M.A., a member of the Primavera Bruderhof of the Society in Paraguay, undertook the difficult task of rendering this article into English, while two other members of the Bruderhof checked and rechecked her work. As

10 See the article "Clemens, Epistle No. IV," by Robert Friedmann in *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* Vol. I (1955), 621-22.

11 This passage is also quoted by Pilgram Marpeck in his *Vermahnung,* etc., of 1542. Cf. *Gendenkschrift zum 400 jährigen Jubiläum der Mennoniten* (Karlsruhe, 1925), 265.

their source they used the Paraguay codex mentioned above. In presenting this work the REVIEW continues a line of publication begun with the English translation of the Claus Felbinger *Verantwortung* of 1560.[12]

Robert Friedmann

7)[13] Concerning True Surrender and Christian Community of Goods, Presented Point by Point. *(Von der wahren Gelassenheit und der Christlichen Gemeinschaft der Güter).*

1.

He who will have the one, must let the other go.

Matt. 22:37.

THOU shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.
LAY up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt. No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other.

Matt. 6.

8) THIS commandment have we from the Lord, That he who loveth God love his brother also. I John 4:21.

Ecclesiasticus 2:5.

AS gold is tried in the fire, so are men in the furnace of surrender.

Not hard the Word of God would be
If from self-interest men were free.

THE Lord commanded Israel, "There shall be no poor among you"—how much more should the people of the new covenant fulfill this in perfect community, for if the old covenant had been perfect and sufficient, one would not have sought another covenant.

2.

SIX years could Israel gather in their fruits, each man for himself, but the seventh year was a year of release, and it was proclaimed that the land
9) should hold a solemn Sabbath unto the Lord, and they might not gather in, but what it bore in the seventh year was common to them, to the father of the household and his servant and to the cattle and beasts of the land. And he who had been bought was released in this seventh year with all manner of gifts and presents. In the same way whosoever had lent his neighbour and brother ought, might not ask it back in the year of release, but had to let it go. For he saith, it is a glorious proclamation as inviting to a wedding feast—that of the year of release of the Lord. Which year of release should have been a prefiguring of the time of the new covenant in Christ, for the true year of release is the acceptable year of the Lord, as the prophet himself doth interpret it, when those who their whole lives have been subject unto the bondage and power of the devil are redeemed. Therefore we should have all goods which God hath given us in this time
0) in common, through Christian love, and enjoy them with our neighbours,

12 Cf. Robert Friedmann, "Claus Felbinger's Confession of 1560," in *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XXIX (April, 1955), 141-61. This translation was also performed by Miss Hasenberg in Primavera, Paraguay.

13 The numbers in the margin in parentheses are the page numbers of the manuscript. Thus Article Three includes pages 307 to 466 of *The Great Article Book.*

brothers and household, and not make the same our own. For it is now a much more glorious and festive proclamation of the year of release, yea, of the year of grace, than in the Old Testament.

3.

MEN will observe a great Sabbath, yea, they will have one Sabbath after another and will lead the most peaceful life on earth where they have laid aside these two words—*"Mine"* and *"Thine"* which do *not* belong to the nature of things. These words have been the cause of much warfare, and are still so today; for whence cometh war and bloodshed? Whence cometh much contention and strife? Whence so much disunity and division? Whence but from property and the making one's own. For they who have surrendered to "mine" and "thine," that is, to property, are in the first place friends of covetousness, of which are born the two daughters (of the angels?) of shameful covetousness, called "Fetch here," "Carry
(311) here." For even as the earth hath never satiety of water; the fire never saith, "It is enough"; the sufferer from dropsy, the more he drinketh the more doth he thirst; even so the devil, death, and hell can never be satisfied. While there are men upon the earth, the more these have, the more they lack. For he that seeketh much lacketh much, and he that desireth much needeth much. Now that is the greatest poverty and the most unpeaceful life on earth—which thing Christ desireth not in His house, among those who have entered upon the true Sabbath, Pentecost, and Easter Day.

4.

THE Lord saith to Israel, "The priests shall have no inheritance. Yea, I shall be their inheritance. Apart from this ye shall give them no possession in Israel, for I am their possession." That is a concordantia (agreement) with the whole people in Christ Jesus, who are likewise all a royal priesthood of God and Christ. Jehovah's priesthood supported them-
(312) selves with the sacrifice, which, when it was offered, was never his who offered it. Even so now the Christian church.

5.

WHEN God the Lord led the children of Israel out of Egypt, and they were come into the wilderness of Sin, He gave them bread from heaven, which they did gather, one much, another little; and when they did measure it out with an omer, he that gathered much had nothing over, and he that gathered little had no lack. But he that kept some until morning, found worms therein, and it stank. Thus, since God hath led the Christian church out of the Egypt of the present age, they should be even so in the wilderness of this world that the rich man hath no more than the poor and the poor no less than the rich, and have all their food in com-
(313) mon, for the use of all, and none reserve anything for himself. This is what it pictureth for us and signifieth, as Paul showeth, and Christ Himself teacheth in a new way in that He fed the great multitude in the desert place, and served the bread to them in common and equally.

6.

DAVID, the royal prophet, prophesying of the kingdom of Christ, saith, "Hearken, O daughter, and consider, and incline thine ear; forget also thine own people, and thy father's house; so shall the king greatly desire thy beauty." Here he also teacheth and declareth the true surrender of what is temporal and of property or of worldly household.

7.

THE Lord will give the word with great numbers of evangelists, the kings of the great hosts will be friends one with another, and she that adorneth

14) the house will serve out the spoil, as was brought to pass and fulfilled in Acts 2 and 4.

8.

WHEN the wicked men and men of Belial spake, saying, "We will give naught of the spoil that we have recovered to the two hundred men who remained behind and were too faint to pursue after them that had robbed Sam. Ziklag," David said, "Ye shall not do so, my brothers, with that which the). Lord hath given us. Who will hearken unto you in this matter? but as his part is that goeth down to the battle, so shall his part be that tarrieth by the stuff: they shall part alike. And it was so from that day forward, and he made it a statute and an ordinance for Israel unto this day"—how much more should it be a statute and ordinance to the children of the new covenant, to share all that God giveth them equally among them?

9.

ISAIAH the prophet hath long ago said clearly, when he spake of how God would visit the city of Tyre, that all "her profit and gain shall be 15) sanctified to the Lord: it shall not be treasured nor laid up; for her mer- a. chandise shall be for the citizens of the Lord for food and lodging to the :18 hungry and clothing to the aged." Christ will say at the Last Judgment of them who are His, that they who have done such have done the same to Him: the rest, however, He pointeth to the left side, for they have not done so, for which reason they are appointed to eternal pain.

10.

a. "AND in that day seven women, that is the number of churches and peo- 1. ples, shall take hold of one man, saying, All our food and clothing we will have in common: only let us be called thy wives (or friends and comrades) to take away our reproach"—namely, that of the word of God and of our conscience.

11.

16) "STRANGERS shall cleave to him and they shall join the house of Jacob. a. They shall take the peoples and bring them home with them; and the :1, 2. house of Israel shall possess them in the land of the Lord for servants and handmaids," that is, for true members of community. In chapter 49 he saith, "All these shall gather themselves together and come to thee, and thou shalt clothe thee with them as with an ornament, and bind them on thee, as a bride doeth."

12.

THE islands also (that is, the heathen) shall gather themselves to me, and especially the ships of the sea to bring thee sons from afar and their silver and gold with them, to the name of the Lord thy God, to the Holy One of Israel, who doth make thee glorious. The same is likewise shown when 17) Peter cast his hook into the sea and drew up a fish which had in its mouth a piece of money, which the Lord commanded him to take to pay for himself and Him.

13.

a. "STRANGERS shall stand and feed your flocks, and the sons of the alien :5-7 shall be your plowmen and your vine-dressers. But ye shall be named the priests of the Lord: men shall call you the servants of our God: ye shall eat the riches of the Gentiles, and enjoy their possessions. They shall rejoice that ye share with them, for in their land they shall possess double"—as Christ saith of them who find the hidden treasure in the field, that they go with joy (note, with joy!) and sell all that they have and buy the field.

14.

Mic. 4:13 (318) MICAH, the prophet, speaketh thus, "Arise and thresh, O Zion, for I will make thine horn iron and I will make thy hoofs brass: and thou shalt beat in pieces many peoples and thou shalt consecrate their gain and all their substance unto the Lord of the whole earth." But who are these threshers? Deut. 25:4. Hear how the Scripture saith, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he thresheth or treadeth out the corn." "Doth God take care for oxen?" saith Paul. "Or saith he it altogether for our sakes," for it is always written for our sakes.

15.

BEHOLD! The feet of him that bringeth good tidings and publisheth peace coming over the mountain! O Judah, celebrate thy joyous wedding festival! Bring and present thy freewill gifts!

16.

THE prophet Zechariah prophesieth: At that time (namely, that of the new covenant) there shall be in the house of the Lord no trader or merchant more.

17.

(319) Eccl. 29:10-12. SIRACH, the wise teacher, saith, "Lay up thy treasure according to the commandments of the most High, and it shall bring thee more profit than gold. Keep alms in the hand of the steward and it shall protect thee from all evil. Lose thy money for thy brothers' and thy neighbours' sake, and bury it not under a stone."

18.

MANY have fallen into great calamity for the sake of gold and money, and have found themselves facing destruction. It is a stumbling block to them that sacrifice unto it and serve it, and all the foolish fall over it. Blessed is the rich man who is found irreproachable and without blemish, and who hath not gone after gold. Who is such an one?

19.

(320) JOHN the Baptist, the herald of Christ, when he came, and the people asked him what they should do, taught them community, and said to them, "He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none; and he that hath meat, let him do likewise."

20.

THE devil doth falsely take possession of what is earthly and temporal for his property. For he saith thus to Christ, when he showeth Him the kingdoms of the world, "All this is mine." Even so do his children, who have this deceitfulness of Belial in their hearts. They take possession of property and possess temporal goods, each for himself. But it should not be so among the children of God, but what God doth lend them they have in common and use for the good of all.

21.

(321) THE Lord Jesus called His disciples, Simon Peter and Andrew his brother, also James (the son of Zebedee) and John his brother, and spake, "Follow me!" and they forsook their net, their boat, and their father and followed Him. Behold, how He calleth His own away from property, and how they forsake the same, and also their parents and friends, and follow Him on the way of gladly letting go and of community, which He went.

22.

THEREFORE saith Christ, "Blessed are the spiritually poor," that is, they who thus leave all that is temporal, giving up their possessions for the sake of Christ, having nothing of their own, but abiding and enduring in

the community of the true Christian church. From this it followeth that they who do the opposite are in no blessed condition. For by the poor, He meaneth here not such as through laziness have naught, or such as have lost through their own fault what they had in gambling, debauchery, and drinking; or such as have naught and yet are as ungodly and vicious
22) as others. But He meaneth those whom the Spirit maketh poor. In the same way as the Spirit drove Christ into the wilderness where the devil tempted Him, even so doth the Spirit drive them into poverty, so that they have naught of their own, like their master Christ. These are the spiritually poor. Hence, he that feareth poverty is also to be feared. He that avoideth community is also to be avoided.

23.

THEREFORE doth He say to His disciples, "Ye are the light of the world"—not a light put under a bushel which lighteth and serveth only for itself, but a light on the candlestick, which is of use to the whole house. Even so are they with their good works. Therefore doth He name them salt—because they are of use to all and should show in everything the good which they have received from God. Light is in itself of no use, neither is salt nor leaven, but their use is in relationship to others. Even so with us—
23) not our benefit, but that of others is demanded of us. Where the salt doth not savour it is no salt but something else. For if we do what is loving and good, then we shall also do good as an example to others.

24.

NO man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon, that is, earthly riches and possessions. For the love and care of money doth control their heart like a lock. Therefore they make no mention of superfluity, and continue to bring in. For Christ saith it is impossible to cleave to and serve these two. Therefore thou shalt not say that it is possible. For if one master commandeth thee, "Thou shalt deny thyself," and the other, "Thou shalt draw to thyself
24) what is not thine and add to what thou hast," the one desireth that thou shouldst live in community: the other that thou shouldst be selfish and possessive—how then is it possible that these contrary things can agree? Therefore, whoever is a servant of Mammon can certainly be no servant of Christ. One must take leave of the one if one would serve the other. No one can go two ways at once. No one can set his foot on more than one place. No branch can stand on two stems. No one can boil two soups in one pot. No one who is ill can be healed by water and fire—one must go. He who will have the one must let the other go. No man hath more than one heart. Thus no one can love God and serve Him, and at the same time temporal things and possessions, riches, money, and lands, which He here calleth a master (even as Paul calleth the belly a god), since
25) they trust money like God Himself, and serve it day and night, in the house and in the fields, on land and water, with the greatest diligence, with the greatest care, and with the greatest earnestness: so that they have not a tenth of this diligence, care, and earnestness for God and His service. But we are redeemed by Christ, therefore we should not serve money and gold and cleave to them, but give them up to God's poor. This preventeth that we be cast down to where the rich man was cast and tortured.

25.

LAY not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt,

and where thieves do not break through or steal. Nor are they taken from you but remain your own. What is here, however, is transitory. It is here
(326) today: tomorrow it is gone. Today a lovely flower: tomorrow dry dust. Today a burning fire: smoke that is quickly gone, that goeth out at the chimney, and we cannot stop it. When we come again it is all consumed. Therefore can we attain naught with it. To this Christ addeth, "For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also," for certainly where one doth place his treasure, there doth he also place his heart, therefore the self-seeking man need not pretend so artfully that he can possess treasure and property and yet have his heart and mind with God—which thing cannot be. With their mouth only they pretend to be ardent, but with their heart they seek their own profit and covetousness. The same is their treasure as one doth see in many who so honour temporal, earthly things
(327) and cleave to them. Rather than forsake them they believe and act worse than the heathen, for they have Christ in their mouths and their hearts in their coffers. Truly they are great idolaters.

26.

NOW if one should say, "How now, why should I let what is mine, yea, mine own, out of my power?" to such a one Christ answereth, "Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor have they barns wherein each doth gather his own; yet God doth feed them." How much more will God, the heavenly Father, care for you, who are much more than the birds—as He fed Elijah miraculously through the ravens, and the five thousand with five barley loaves. Therefore ye should not be
(328) anxious (for after all these things do the heathen seek: how each may care for himself, no matter what befalleth the other). "But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness," saith Christ, "and all these things shall be added unto you," even though ye have no store of your own for many days and years, like the rich man. He desireth thus to lead us back to the first nobility of Adam, before he had care for food and shelter, for care belongeth to God, but work belongeth to us. Therefore also is community: that He may set us free from temporal care and covetousness and cleave to Him alone, that we may care for what is divine.

27.

OUR own prayer, "Our Father," teacheth us also community. Christ hath not taught us to pray each for his own bread: not "Give me my bread," but "give us our bread"—that is, bread for all, therefore are they false prayers who pray, "Give us our bread," and when they receive it count it
(329) their own. He who hath of his own, may not pray to God. The Apostle Paul writeth, "Such as walk among you disorderly, working not at all but being busybodies, should eat their own bread," as a punishment. That they may be ashamed, saith he.

28.

HE that liveth in property is false in the confession of his faith. For the Christian faith stateth a holy Christian church and a community of saints. Now where there is no community of saints, there is likewise no true, sincere Christian church. Therefore all lie who say, "Community is not necessary and is no basis of doctrine," for it is an article of the faith, yea, an institution of Christ and of the Holy Spirit and His teaching. Therefore, just as it is necessary for us to hold to the doctrine of the apostles, to prayer and to the breaking of bread, even so is it necessary for us to hold
(330) to community of goods. For community is no light matter, as though the apostles did the same out of capriciousness, but it is divine earnest, and is right and meet for us today as it was at Jerusalem and elsewhere.

29.

"ENTER ye in at the strait gate," saith Christ, "for strait is the gate and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it." For a Christian community life is a strait gate: to the carnal man the small eye of a needle. Yea, it is a furnace of surrender in which men are tried like gold in the fire. Therefore is it that few desire to enter in at this strait gate, and that few find this narrow way. They always think it is asking too much. They cannot believe that one must stand so bare, laying
1) aside and giving up everything: and cannot enter in at the strait gate and door before which one must lay aside everything. But the broad way and the wide gate is the unsocial, owning life of the world, of all the self-seeking and covetous, of whom there are many, many who go in, yea, the whole world goeth in thereat, for, as they say, where money is, there mercenaries gather—even so do men to covetousness and property, and mock the surrendered Christ who saith, "Ye cannot serve or cleave to God as well as Mammon."

30.

"THE birds of the air have nests," saith Christ to him who offered to follow Him and become His disciple; "and the foxes have holes, but the Son of man hath naught of His own, wherever to lay His head." As though He would say, "You must accept such surrender of self and deny property, if you would be my disciple, for the servant should not be greater than his lord, nor the disciple above his master." Therefore are they false disciples, tares sown by the enemy and quite the opposite, who turn back here
2) and have not only that of their own whereon they lay their head, but also money and possessions, and, like the foxes and birds, desire each to keep and possess his own separate house and homestead.

31.

"WHOSOEVER loveth father and mother more than me is not worthy of me, and whosoever loveth son and daughter more than me is not worthy of me, and whosoever taketh not his cross upon him and followeth after me is not worthy of me." Now, he is not worthy of Christ who loveth more than Christ his parents and friends, who are bound by blood and with the most necessary bonds of nature and of kinship, and can I say of him—since also the man who loveth his own soul, than which we have naught closer, more than Christ is not worthy of him—for all the more
3) doth it follow that he that loveth his own possessions more than Christ, who saith, "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor," is absolutely unworthy of Christ and His glory and will not taste of His supper.

32.

CHRIST saith, "That which was sown among thorns is he that heareth the word: and the care of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches, choke the word and it becometh unfruitful." Therefore these two cannot exist side by side. If the thornbush groweth, the Word must be choked and die out in the heart, but if the Word groweth in the heart, then possessive riches must go. Therefore he is deceived who desireth to keep and possess
4) both side by side; for just as thorns tear and pierce what they come across, even so doth the desire to riches. Therefore have the rich a thorny woodpath, where they are held back; for ultimately it is as though under the thorns all manner of snakes and scorpions lie hidden. Even so is it with the deceitfulness of riches and of possessions, therefore one should eradicate the thorns with the grubbing-axe of the Word of God and with true community, cast on them the fire of the Holy Spirit, and burn them and drive away the pest of unclean beasts, that we, as good plowmen, may keep the land clean and have a straight footpath.

33.

HENCE Christ saith, "The kingdom of heaven is like unto treasure hidden in a field; the which when a man hath found, he hideth, and for joy thereof goeth and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field." Hence he who selleth not all that is his, will also not buy it. He speaketh not of
(335) superfluity, but of all that he had. Therefore he that findeth the Word of God, the divine truth, through faith, must give up all things and make himself quite free of what is temporal, and win the treasure which he found. And He saith here that this is done with great joy, not sadly like the rich young man. For, saith He, so is the kingdom of heaven, and it is as follows:

34.

"AGAIN," saith Christ, "the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls: who, when he found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had, and bought it." This meaneth the same as above.

LIKEWISE if thou dost find a pearl and canst give twenty pounds and dost buy the pearl, thy twenty pounds are from henceforth of no more use
(336) to thee—thou canst gain no more therewith—thou must gain alone with the pearl and sell the same well: even so, if thou dost find the pearl of the Word of God, the divine truth, thou dost give all thy possessions for it, that thou mayest have and keep the pearl and seek thy riches, thy treasure, thy profit, through the same pearl. But if thou dost find the pearl and buyest it not because the twenty pounds are dearer to thee than the pearl, thou dost use thy money to thy damnation, for thou dost flee from that for the sake of which thou shouldst give thy property, and feed thyself from the same and not from the twenty pounds. For this purpose are the twenty pounds given thee: that thou mightest buy a treasure and pearl; where not, thou and the same money which thou hast not used will certainly come into eternal damnation with the worthless (unworthy) servant, who kept his money in the cloth or buried it in the earth.

35.

(337) CHRIST doth also teach us community by example, in that He once and again fed the five thousand, not counting women and children, and likewise the four thousand, who had come to Him in the desert. He told them to sit down on the grass, and served the bread to them in common, and also the little fishes. For the disciples gladly shared with others and were commanded to share what little they had, namely, the five barley loaves and two fishes; likewise the seven loaves. Which thing teacheth us that we, who like those leave our home, fatherland and friends, to cleave to the Word of God in this wilderness and follow it, should do the same today: that we most certainly should have and use temporal goods in common and for the good of all, out of love to our neighbour.

36.

(338) "IF any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me." To shed his own blood is more than to give up money and goods: so likewise is to deny his own will. For we are a people of God, His property, and are not our own. How much less can one say of temporal things that they are his own, or have property and possess it with Christian rights! Therefore whoever thinketh to follow Christ or to be a disciple of Christ, without leaving all created things, and denying himself, believeth not in Christ.

37.

THE Lord spake to Peter, "Go thou to the sea and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh up; and when thou hast opened his mouth,

thou shalt find a piece of money: that take, and give unto them for me and and thee." That indicateth, in its depths, naught other than that they, as fishers of men, should catch out of the world those that believe with the word of preaching, and use their possessions in true community and for the need of all, like the church at Jerusalem. That is "for me and thee." Thus must the sea bring gifts to the name of the Lord, as Isaiah saith.

38.

CHRIST saith to the rich young man, when he asketh, "What shall I do that I may be saved?" that though he had kept the law of the tables of stone, "yet lackest thou one thing if thou wilt be perfect; go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me." He nameth "perfection" to sell all, to give to the poor; for love, which this young man lacketh, is a bond of perfection. Where it dwelleth, it worketh perfect surrender and community—not in part or half, but complete and perfect. Therefore it is clear that they who keep their privilege, who cannot deny their property and give it to the spiritually poor in true community and for the use of all, cannot become disciples and followers of Christ. Therefore "sell all things" is a general command and not just advice given. For he that desireth to remain with his property and possessions doth not follow Christ, nor did He have any among His chosen that remained in his property. For even as a well or spring that doth not run out and from which one draweth no water, easily groweth stagnant, even so is it with the rich if they keep their riches to themselves. For the heart of him that possesseth and retaineth such is anxious only about his silver and gold (that is, that his treasure will be consumed) by rust, and (will become) ugly, withered, faded, and ruined. For if thou couldest see the heart of a covetous man, thou wouldst find it like a garment which is eaten by thousands of moths. For even so is it pierced by care, defiled by sin, and disunited in itself. As a physician doth first purge the wound before he healeth, even so doth God desire first to sweep out of His followers the subsidiary gods, upon which man putteth his hope, to which he hangeth and cleaveth, which he loveth beside and before God, in which his heart and soul rejoiceth.

"TO give to the poor," however, is not to be understood that the poor make him blessed, but being obedient to Christ and following Him in His Word and command—that maketh him blessed. Therefore he must first renounce his possessions—apart from this none can follow Him—and what one giveth away here on earth for Christ's sake, he will receive in the kingdom of God. There he will find it again. "He that loveth riches shall have no profit therefrom," saith the preacher Solomon.

39.

TO the rich young man it was far too narrow a gate, that he should strip himself of his possessions—and he went away, sorrowful. Therefore doth Christ say, "O how hardly shall rich men enter into the kingdom of God. And again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God." For just as it is not possible for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, even so is it also impossible for a rich man to be so small that he can enter into the kingdom of heaven. For we must become like children, who have nothing; so much must go from a rich man before he becometh a child and may enter into the kingdom of God—just as much as must go from a camel before it becometh a tiny animal that can go through a needle's eye. That is a hard saying—but still harder are the hearts of those who hear this and cease not to cleave to riches and covetousness: hence the

proverb, "Not hard the Word of God would be if from self-interest men were free."

40.

THE disciples of Christ, who were so poor and had already left all that they had, were horrified for the whole world, and said, "Who then can be saved?" As though they would say, "They will be few who accept this, and follow us." "But Jesus beheld them and said unto them, With men this is impossible: but with God all things are possible." As though He would say, "It is no work or strength of man to free himself of all temporal things and property, but God can give one grace, that he is enabled to do this, and withdraw thus from his own, and swim out of the water." Therefore, O ye rich and self-seeking, how long will ye burden yourselves with much filth? How long will ye be weary and heavy laden and not seek rest for
(344) your souls?

41.

PETER spake, "Behold, we have forsaken all, and followed thee." Even so must a disciple of the Lord be able to speak today. The Lord said, "Every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life." For as Adam, the father of us all, desired other than God, and inclined to created things with his love and thus despised his Creator, even so all men fall with Adam through love to created things today; and Christ desireth to lead us back to His father from this love to created things. He cometh and calleth, "Repent!" and saith that one should leave and give up for God's sake all that
(345) one had previously loved more than God, turn one's heart away from the creatures and fix it once more on God. Therefore, mark, it is not said, "Remain in thy house, homestead and property," for that doth hinder greatly discipleship of Christ, and the Word cannot remain alive and bring forth fruit. Now if one promised thee to teach thee an art or good way whereby thou mightest keep the fruits of the earth for a long time, what wouldst thou gladly leave that thou mightst keep the fruits of the earth uninjured for many years! Here, however, Christ teacheth a way whereby what thou hast will remain well preserved in eternity, as a heavenly treasure—not only external goods, but thy body and soul can be preserved in eternity. Hence the preacher saith, "Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shalt find it after many days. Give a portion to seven, and also to eight; for thou knowest not what evil shall be upon the earth." "It
(346) is an evil plague," saith the preacher, "to keep wealth to one's own hurt." Therefore he that forsaketh all things shall find all things. For if we receive spiritual and heavenly things and lose physical, we suffer no hurt, but make a good exchange. The plowman ventureth a few little grains of corn, for he hopeth for a great harvest; how much more should we do this for the sake of those things which we confidently expect? Therefore let us not allow ourselves to be robbed of heaven for the sake of filth, or steer our little boat to the moorings full of straw and chaff, and so cause the
Isa. devil laughter, but ourselves eternal sorrow. Hence the prophet Isaiah
44:20. saith, "He feedeth on ashes: a deceived heart hath turned him aside, that he cannot deliver his soul, nor say, Is there not a lie in my right hand?"

42.

(347) JESUS went into the temple of God and drove out all the buyers and sellers in the temple and overturned the tables of the money-changers, and the seats of them that sold doves, and said unto them, "It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves." Therefore Christ desireth not to have them that buy and sell in

His house, as the prophet said aforetime; and such buying and selling is a sign whereby each must recognize the false church, in that he seeth that Christ once drove such out with whips.

43.

"THOU shalt love God, thy Lord, with all thy heart. That is the first commandment, and the second is like unto it: thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." The word "thyself" comprehendeth in it true community and all the works of love and mercy that one human being can show another. Yea, to love one's neighbour as oneself—that is a sample of true community and of all good things. Where this love is poured out by God into men's hearts, it teacheth true community through the Holy Spirit and the bond of peace. There no one desireth to have any privilege over his neighbour, but equality and common care for one another. It is not to love one's neighbour as oneself when one desireth to have, to keep, and to possess self-interest, property; for love is a bond of perfectness, a golden chain about the temple of God. He that hath one link must have all. For to love one's neighbour as oneself is not a part, not half, but having and enjoying all things in common, for the use of all. Without this it is but Pharisaic, heathen, and pretended love and not Christian love.

44.

SUCH love and community Christ praiseth in His church, which is called His body in accordance with the Gospel with which He ended His last sermon and desireth to draw it out. On that day, when He will say, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world: for ye gave me meat; ye gave me drink; ye took me in; ye clothed me; ye visited me when I was sick, and ye came unto me. For, truly, what ye have done unto one of the least of these, my brothers, ye have done unto me. Ye cursed, however, on the left hand, depart into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels. Ye gave me no meat; ye gave me no drink; ye took me not in; ye clothed me not, but ye have cared only for yourselves. Ye have fed only yourselves, given yourselves drink, clothed yourselves. Ye have sought and thought only of your own self-interest and your property—not how ye might take me in and receive me, but only of yourselves. For what ye have not done nor desire to do to the least of these that are mine, that ye have not done unto me nor desire to do." For as we do to our neighbours and fellow members in Christ, that we shall find the Lord will do to us. Since there are men now who wish they had lived in the time that Christ walked on the earth, so that they could dwell and live with Him and do good to Him—behold, this befitteth us now much more, for He saith, "What ye do to one of the least of these, ye do unto me. He that receiveth you, receiveth me." Therefore we should consider the day when we shall stand before Christ's throne of judgment, and there ask Him to have mercy upon His and make us heirs with Him of His kingdom. Then Christ will present His own. He that hath not made himself an heir with Him of his property, will have to be dumb.

45.

CHRIST speaketh of this likewise in the parable, when He saith, "As a man travelling into a far country, who called his own servants, and delivered unto them his goods. And unto one he gave five talents, to another two, and to another one; to every man according to his several ability," to trade withal and practice usury and put in the bank. But he that kept his money in the cloth was thrown into outer darkness. Now we understand by the talent or pound, that each should give according to his ability, whether it be to admonish by preaching, or to give in money, tem-

poral possessions which he hath received, for that is likewise lent to the
(352) Lord at usury, or if thou canst benefit thy neighbour in any other way. For there is nothing more pleasing to God, than that thou shouldst live thy whole life to the Christian benefit of all. They who do this enter into the joy of their Lord. They, however, that keep their pound in a cloth are they that benefit their neighbour neither with words nor with temporal goods, nor wish to be in common with others, but have the malice of Belial in their hearts and desire to keep everything to themselves. Such worthless, self-seeking, unfaithful servants shall be thrown to destruction.

46.

WHEN Jesus went throughout the towns and villages preaching the glad tidings, the Twelve went with Him, and certain women, whom He had healed of evil spirits and infirmities, Mary called Magdalene, and Joanna
(353) the wife of Chuza, Herod's steward, and Susanna, and many others, which ministered unto them of their substance. Mark how the women already here began community of goods with them.

47.

WATCH and beware of covetousness, for no man can live therefrom—that he hath complete sufficiency in his possessions. It is covetousness that continually desireth more than one's neighbour and fellow member. Regarding this He speaketh in a parable of selfishness, of the rich man whose field flourished, whom the devil led to midnight just as he thought all was well with him. Even so is it, saith He, with the man who layeth up treasure for himself, and is not rich in God; for he cannot be rich whose heart is poor, and he cannot be poor who is rich in heart.

48.

(354) SELL that ye have and give alms; provide yourselves bags which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief approacheth, and which remaineth eternally for you. Here He teacheth once again that we should give up property and all that is temporary and strive for what is heavenly and eternal. He meaneth not alms, however, as the world giveth, where one giveth something to a wandering beggar in whom there is as much vice and ungodliness as in any rich man. One cannot say that this was done to Christ, since the same are not His members or surrender to Him; though it is no wrong thing, and is human pity, sympathy, and charity; but Christ speaketh here of complete alms in the community of saints, with all that one hath.

49.

CHRIST likeneth His calling to the Christian church to a supper, for we
(355) are wedding guests and people invited to a supper who enjoy together what is given them as guests. "And when he sent his servant at supper time to say to the guests, Come, for all things are now ready, they all with one consent began to make excuse. The first said, I have bought a field, and I must needs go and see it; and another said, I have bought five yoke of oxen, and I go to prove them." He had not the time. "And the third said, I have married a wife. Therefore I cannot come." He did not want to cause separation. "But the Lord was wroth and said, I say unto you, That none of those men shall taste of my supper." For as long as the love of earthly things, which are superfluous and transitory, hinders us, heavenly things can find no place with us. For if thou dost give thyself up to earthly things when heavenly things are set before thee, consider
(356) that thou dost revile Him that doth offer thee the same, in that thou despisest the heavenly and dost not fear to mistake them for earthly things.

50.

THERE went great multitudes with him: "And he turned and saith unto them, if any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brothers, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple. And whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple. So likewise, whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath (mark, *all*), he cannot be my disciple." Thus each cannot and must not keep, possess, and remain with his own to be himself lord, steward, and ruler, for that would have two kingdoms, or inherit two properties. If we desire to receive the one, we must flee from the other; if we desire to lay hold on the one, we must lay aside the other; if we desire to respect what is heavenly, we must despise what is temporal; if we desire to promise ourselves the one, we must deny the other; he who desireth to have the one must let the other go. For as in illness and evil tumours, where one quencheth not first the matter that issueth and the uncleanness of the wound, no matter what medicine and plaster one may use, all is for nothing and in vain since the cause of the illness is not removed. Even so is it with us, if we make not our hearts empty and surrendered and refrain not our hands and wash them of covetousness, we cannot be sound and healthy as Christ's disciples should be.

51.

"MAKE to yourselves friends with unrighteous mammon; that, when ye fail, they may receive you into the everlasting habitation," which habitation is the true church of God. She will always accept them in their need and care for them spiritually and temporally. These are friends who offer each other their property completely as brothers, in equal love and in common. Therefore doth He say, "Make to yourselves friends with temporal goods and property"—which He doth call "unjust mammon."

52.

"HE that is faithful in that which is least is faithful also in much": and he that is unjust in the least is unjust also in much. If one is faithful in the administration of what is small and evil—that is, in temporal things—he is also faithful and true in what is great, that is, in spiritual things. For faithfulness in what is great, namely, in divine things, is the spring from whence faithfulness floweth into the least, that is, into what is temporal. Now, where no streams flow, what will be the state of the spring? For both go together. If one is not in the administration of temporal things and community as he should be in accordance with Christ's command and will, but is an Ananias, he is also unfaithful in the greatest, in divine, spiritual things, and worthless before God.

53.

"IF ye have not been faithful in unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches? And if ye have not been faithful in that which is another's, who shall give you that which is your own?" Now if that which is temporal is called another's, whoever presumeth to possess and have it for his own is unrighteous and acteth unfaithfully, like the unjust steward. Who will now give him the heavenly possession, namely, the true riches? Therefore if one desireth to serve God, he must leave his own mammon. If one desireth to serve and cleave to mammon, he must forsake God. For he that still cleaveth to what is earthly doth testify that he still knoweth, seeketh, desireth, and asketh for naught better. For one always turneth to the better and more profitable, and gladly letteth the worse go if it hindereth the better. What great folly: that we desire not willingly to give the things which we receive again later richly and much

better, and which in any case are taken in displeasure from us—yea, which we must leave with much ado, whether we desire or not.

54.

THE Pharisees also, who were covetous, heard all these things: and they derided Him, as though they would say, "What a fool he would be, who giveth away all that he hath! What a pity if one cannot be blessed except
(361) through such a life!"—even as do the world today and all Pharisees.
Luke Where one teacheth such true community they laugh and mock at it. But
16:15. Christ spake unto them, "Ye are they which justify yourselves," namely, as though ye possess property for the good of your neighbour: that your heart cleaveth not thereto, but your heart is with God and your property ye keep as alms to the poor. "But God knoweth your hearts," namely, that that is naught.

55.

Mark AND Christ beheld how the rich cast money into the treasury, and many
12:41- that were rich cast in much. He beheld, also, however, a poor widow, who
44. threw in two mites, and He said, "Verily I say unto you, That this poor widow hath cast more in, than all they which have cast into the treasury: for all they did cast in of their abundance [as a sacrifice to God]: but she
(362) of her want hath cast in all that she had, even all her living" (note, all her living!). Therefore doth the Lord demand all the property, and the whole heart in Christian community, no matter how great or how little the property may be. And how can Christ show, teach, and command the true forsaking of all things and community yet more than He hath done? Of the rich He saith to the young man that they should give all that they have, and here (for the poor say, "I have little") He teacheth them to do the same. Therefore we ought all to practice Christian community, for there is none poorer than this widow in the Gospel who sacrificed two mites in the temple of God and who excelled all others because she gave all that she had. For God seeth not what thou sacrificest, but He is concerned with the heart and will of him that giveth.

56.

(363) HENCE is the congregation and church of Christ also compared to a vineyard wherein He hath built a wine press; likewise Christ to a vine and the Father the vinedresser; we, however, are the branches, for we should live in such unity and community, or membership one of another, as doth the wood of the vine more than other woods, and should give, present, and use all our possessions, good fruits, and gifts for the common good of our neighbour; as a vineyard doth not have or bear its fruit or a branch its grapes for itself. Likewise, are we often compared in the Scriptures, with the same meaning, to good, fruit-bearing trees, and are grafted, against the nature of covetousness and self-seeking, on to the good olive tree of Christ.

57.

"THIS is my command," saith Christ, "that ye love one another as I have loved you." Now He so loved us that He forsook the glory that He had
(364) with the Father and for our sakes became poor and a servant, and had all things in common with His disciples. In the same way doth He command that we should now love one another. Out of great love hath He made us heirs in heaven, and we should make our brother fellow heir with us in earthly things. He hath made us fellow citizens with the angels and members of the household of God, and we should receive our brother under our roof and into our home, and continue to show love to him in outward as well as in spiritual things. Therefore doth John say in his epistle,

"Whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and closeth his heart against him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?"

58.

"A NEW commandment give I you, that ye love one another as I have loved you. Hereby will every man know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." Thus the new command of love meaneth especially that we should have and show community, one with another, and place gifts and goods which we may have from God at the service of all. For in this way men will recognize especially in you above all peoples—if the branch of love doth blossom so among you, yea, if ye have such love that they are enabled to live a brotherly and Christian community life with you, to suffer weal and woe together—that ye are my true disciples and of one faith in Christ; for love is above all else a sign of devout, holy people. Therefore doth Paul admonish Titus to teach that one be sound in love, which love was not so perfect in the people of the old covenant that it could attain to such complete community. Therefore is it a new command, a greater and more perfect than in the old covenant, for Christ demandeth not of us that we love one another as friends love, but as the members of a body love one another. Greater love and care than this one cannot find.

59.

EVEN as Christ doth complete and perfect the law when He saith: "It was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not kill. But I say unto you, Thou shalt not be angry. It was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: But I say unto you, That whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her. It was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not forswear thyself. But I say unto you, Swear not at all. . . . Ye have heard, . . . An eye for an eye. But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil"—even so doth Christ lead love with its way and working to perfection, for it was said by them of old, "Thou shalt not harden thine heart against thy poor brother, but thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him and shalt lend him of thy goods and help him, and support him according to his need." In the New Testament, however, Christ desireth and commandeth to give all that thou hast to the poor, and to have all things in community. Hence doth He say, "Except your righteousness shall exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of God."

60.

"FATHER, all that is mine is thine, and what is thine is mine." Even so should it be with the children of God. Where this is not so, then one hath degenerated, hath grown unhealthy and cold in love and warm in covetousness, yea, hath turned away from Christ.

61.

CHRIST desireth that all who believe in Him through His Word should be one, as the Father is in Him and He in the Father. Even so also are the believers one in them, for there is naught that can be compared with unity, community, and being of one loving will, for one is manifold. For if ten or more are one and together, we are no longer one, but each becometh tenfold, and thou findest in ten one, and in one ten, and if the ten have an adversary that doth attack one of them, it is as though he had attacked ten. Thus is he overcome, for he is resisted not by one alone but by ten. If one is in need, he is not in need, for he hath to overflowing in the greater part, that is, in the nine, and the part that is in need, as the smaller part, is covered by the greater part which hath to overflow-

ing. For such an one seeth not with his eyes alone, nor doth he go alone on his own feet, but with all those that are his friends. Hence doth Job
Job 29:15. say, "I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the lame." And he breatheth with ten souls, for he doth not care for himself alone, but also for the rest, even were they hundreds, for strength doth increase. Such is the excellence of the chains and bonds of love and of Christian unity or community, which the preacher Solomon desireth to touch upon, saying,
Eccl. 4:9-12. "Two are even better than one, for they enjoy the reward of their work. If one falleth, his fellow lifteth him up: for he hath not another to help him up. If two lie together, then they have heat: but how can one be warm alone? One may be overcome, but two can withstand; and a three-
(370) fold cord is not quickly broken." Likewise is a brother that supporteth as a strong city, and they that hold to one another like a bolt upon the lock.

62.

CHRIST is the Captain of faith, our example and forerunner. When He came, He likewise set up community with His disciples, so that they had one common purse, of which Judas was steward and carried the purse and what was given. When, however, covetousness, the treachery of Belial and the devil, took possession of him, so that he betrayed Christ and hanged himself, Matthias received the same office, and was chosen and was appointed when he (Judas) went to his own place. Even so should it be still in the church of God—that each is not his own purser, but the server-out who is chosen for this purpose should manage the possession of poor and
(371) rich. They who do otherwise reject and revile the footsteps and example of Christ.

63.

WHEN the Holy Spirit came and was sent He brought about Christian
Acts 2:44, 45. community in its perfection, so that the three thousand and the five thousand who were in Jerusalem, yea, all that believed, were together, and had all things common. They sold their possessions and goods, and shared them to all men, as every man had need. For this reason doth the apostle call it community of the Holy Spirit, for where He truly dwelleth He worketh and bringeth about the same.

64.

Acts 4:32, 34, 35. AGAIN, Luke doth describe it in chapter four, saying, "And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and one soul: neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but
(372) they had all things common. Neither was there any among them that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet, and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need." It is not written, "Each took for himself whatsoever he desired." So should it be still today, if God permitteth and granteth a place, and all things should be held in common which serve to the praise of God. He that doeth this not, revileth and forsaketh the footsteps of the first apostolic church.

65.

HENCE, when Ananias with Sapphira his wife sold their possession, they likewise had the treachery of Belial in their hearts and kept back part of the money. They brought one part and laid it at the apostles' feet. The other part they kept—doubtless, that they might still have somewhat
(373) should they come to naught and be once more false or give up the cause. For this reason they had both to die a sudden death, and Peter said, "Ananias, why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and

to keep back part of the money? Thou hast not lied to men, but to God." And he fell down, and gave up the ghost. Now, if community were not a basis of doctrine and of the Holy Spirit as well as other articles of faith, Peter would have had to say to Ananias, "Thou hast not lied to God and to the Holy Spirit, but to men."

66.

HISTORY mentioneth one by name, called Joses and named Barnabas, a Levite from Cyprus, who had a field, sold it, and brought the money and laid it at the apostles' feet, "and of the rest durst no man join himself to them," saith Luke. Mark, they received none unless he in his surrender committed himself to community of goods, to live with them in one spirit, soul, and heart, therefore is there no need that thou shouldst ask, "Can it not be other than this?" for each alike must thus present what is his and place it in community.

67.

"THEY that gladly received his word were baptized: and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls. And they continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine, in fellowship, in the breaking of bread and in prayer." Who then desireth with truth and honour to say that they forsook community? Though they were persecuted and could later not be together in such large masses, yet though fewer of them were together one cannot thereby observe that community among them failed, for it is a command of Christ and a fundamental doctrine, which we must not desert but fulfill—otherwise Ananias and his wife were treated too severely.

68.

THAT community was not dissolved or forsaken by them is proved clearly again and again, for Paul saith the church was in the house of Priscilla and Aquila. The church was also in Laodicea, in the house of Nymphas, as Paul writeth and sendeth it greetings. Archippus, Paul's fellow soldier, had also the church living in his house. Did they then live communally in the houses? Truly, in other things, too, they showed themselves as acting communally, as at Jerusalem. For they did not, as the world did and falsely named "brothers" do today, sit at one table and eat without shame, the one better and the other worse food, according as each could afford.

69.

THERE were in the church that was in Antioch certain prophets and teachers—Barnabas, and Simeon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, Saul and Manaen, which had been brought up with Herod the Tetrarch. And they came together for a whole year in the church, and who can say that it was not in all things as at Jerusalem, for they that were scattered in the tribulation regarding Stephen came down from Jerusalem. They established the church at Antioch and taught a great multitude, so that they were there first called Christians. Likewise, many were gathered together in the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark. Now if they gathered together as at Jerusalem, then they also did their housekeeping in community, as at Jerusalem, and continued therein—otherwise they would not have continued steadfast in the teaching of the apostles.

70.

PAUL saith that fourteen years after his conversion he went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas and Titus, where Peter and John gave him the hand and agreed with one another that Paul and his helpers should preach to the heathen, but they to the circumcision. "Only they would that we should remember the poor: the same which I also was forward to do," saith Paul. Before the governor Felix, Paul saith likewise, "After many

Acts 24:17. years had passed, I brought an alms to my nation and an offering to Jerusalem." Who will then say, "It did not last long in Jerusalem and community was soon abandoned"?

71.

THE Apostle Paul saith of the brother Gaius of Corinth, that he was his host and the host of the whole church. When he wrote from there to the church in Rome he showeth also clearly that each was not his own host (378) and steward as in the world, but that there was a common household, of which economy Gaius was in charge.

72.

LIKEWISE also did the church in Macedonia and kept community, which II Cor. 8:3, 4. Paul himself praiseth and saith, "Beyond their power they were willing of themselves, and prayed us earnestly with much entreaty that we would receive the benefit and community of the ministering to the saints, and not (only) as we hoped, but they gave themselves first to the Lord and then to us by the will of God." Is that not community as it was kept in Jerusalem? That no one can deny.

73.

IN the same way the church at Thessalonica lived in the community of (379) goods, for Paul doth write to them that they that walk disorderly and work not at all but are busybodies, should eat their own bread that they may be ashamed, therefore they ate communal bread. For Paul would not have needed to say that such an one should eat his own bread, if each did already eat his own bread—as false "brothers" do now, to say nothing of the world.

74.

PETER the apostle saith to the man who was lame from his mother's Acts 3:6. womb, "Silver and gold have I none; but such as I have give I thee: In the name of Jesus of Nazareth rise up and walk." Therefore he had naught that was his own, but all things common, though it was laid at the apostles' feet.

75.

(380) PAUL, when he came as a prisoner to Rome and was suffered to dwell by Acts 28:16, 30. himself with a soldier that kept him, dwelt for two years in his own hired house, and received all that came to him. Even so should one receive others.

76.

"I BESEECH you, dear brothers, by the mercy of God, that ye present your Rom. 12:1. bodies a sacrifice to God." If we should do that, how much more should we present our goods a sacrifice to His church as the church in Macedonia did?

77.

Rom. 12:2. "BE not conformed to the world: but let yourselves be transformed by the renewing of your mind." The world possesseth riches and treasures and they have property, for they are the ungodly, who go each his own way, each followeth his greed with all his power. Such cleave to such things as muck to a wheel, and rend and bite one another for the sake of mine and (381) thine: much for me and little for thee: give me the present, and thou canst take what is to come. That is the sum total of the world's children in their hearts. Each looketh to his own profit. To such we should not be conformed.

78.

Rom. 12:4-6. "AS we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office and work, even so are we, many, one body in Christ, and every one members one of another, having different gifts, according to the grace

that is given to us." Consider what that meaneth—to be as members of one body. Thou canst have no greater teaching of Christian community. "Let love be without dissimulation and sincere," saith he. Likewise, care for the needs of the saints and strive gladly to give them hospitality, that is, gladly to receive one another.

79.

2) "RECEIVE ye one another, as Christ also received you to the glory of m. God." Here the apostle desireth not that each should look for a special 7. dwelling, or that each should have a special one, or receive and occupy one alone, but that that might take place which the prophet foretold: that they shall say, "They sat closer together, that I also might sit."

80.

m. "I GO now to Jerusalem to minister unto the saints, for it hath pleased 25- them of Macedonia and Achaia to prepare a common contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem. It hath pleased them verily; and their debtors they are. For if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, it is also right that they should minister unto them in carnal things."

or. 81.

. "GOD is faithful in his promise, whereby ye are called to the commu-33) nity of his Son Jesus Christ, our Lord." Mark, we are called to the community of Christ.

82.

Cor. "THEY that buy," saith the apostle, "should be as though they possessed 30, it not; and they that use this world, as though they needed it not." David saith, "If riches come to you, set not your heart upon them." This is not the case with those who possess property, but with such as are living with all things in common.

83.

Cor. "EVERY man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things. And 25. this they do to obtain a corruptible crown; but we the incorruptible." Here the apostle giveth an example of true renunciation in true community. There they also that take part in God's struggle under the banner 34) and pennon of Christ and run toward the heavenly goal, should empty, rid, and free themselves of property and what is temporal.

84.

"LET no man seek his own profit, but the profit of another, as I also seek not what is desirable and profitable for me, but what is desirable and profitable for many, that they may be blessed. Be ye followers of me, even as I follow Christ." Here the apostle teacheth with precept and example that none should seek his own profit; so we must either seek community or let the common good go and have property—for these two cannot dwell in one heart.

85.

PAUL, right through the twelfth chapter of the first epistle to the Corinthians, teacheth in the parable of a body, and saith finally, "God hath so tempered the body together, having given more honour to that member 35) that lacked, that there should be no schism in the body, but that the members should have the same care for one another." Consider what the same care is.

86.

LOVE is long-suffering and kind, it is not jealous and envious. Love doth not seek its own profit. Now if it doth not seek its own profit, it seeketh certainly only community. Therefore such as have this love and are sound in love follow true community. Thus naught is so strongly commanded

us as love, for it is social and seeketh the common good. It containeth the whole law and all the prophets. But whosoever seeketh his own profit and property, hath no love in him. Yea, where this conception is in the heart and taketh the upper hand the branch of love withereth.

87.

(386), I Cor. 16:15, 16. "LET all your things go in love. I beseech you, dear brothers, (ye know the house of Stephanas, that it is the first fruits of Achaia, and that they have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints), that ye submit your selves unto such, and to every one that helpeth with us, and worketh." Mark, how they addicted and gave themselves to the service of the saints, not to the service of property.

88.

II Cor. 8:8. "AS ye abound in every thing, in faith, and in the word, and in knowledge, and in all diligence, and in your love to us, see that ye abound in this grace also. I speak not by commandment, but by occasion of the forwardness of others, and to prove the sincerity of your love. For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich." Therefore it is here His will that we also should gladly become poor for the sake (387) of others, and so love one another as Christ hath loved us, if we have put on Christ and have put off the old man.

89.

II Cor. 8:11-15. "NOW therefore perform the doing of it; that as there was a willing mind, so there may be a performance also out of that which ye have. For if there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not. For I mean not that other men be eased, and ye burdened; but by an equality, that your abundance may serve their want at this hard time, that their abundance may likewise later serve your want that there may be equality: as it is written, He that had gathered much had nothing over; and he that had gathered little had no lack." By this the apostle desireth that the rich (should have) no more than the poor, and the poor neither more nor less than the rich, but that (388) there should be a Christian community and equality.

90.

II Cor. 9:1, 2, 5-7. "CONCERNING the ministering to the saints, it is not necessary for me to write to you: for I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago; and your zeal hath provoked many. But I thought it necessary to exhort the brothers, that they would go before you, and make up your promised bounty or gift beforehand, that the same might be ready, as a good gift and not as a matter of covetousness. But this I say, He which soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully. Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so (389) let him give; not sadly, or of necessity; for God loveth a cheerful giver." As, when the Lord through Moses commandeth Israel to bring a gift to the Lord for the work of the tabernacle of witness, that each should bring the Lord a gift with a willing heart—gold, silver, brass, yellow silk, and the like. Since it is still time, let us sow, that we may reap before the winter cometh. Then it will no more befit us. Now is the time to sow. After this time cometh the harvest and the reaper who desireth not to sow in summer but in the harvest is one to be laughed at. Now is the time to sow, therefore we have now not to reap but to sow and to scatter abroad. The time of sowing calleth to us to scatter and not to gather, to give and not to lay up, and in no way to spare temporal goods that we may obtain the

stewardship an hundredfold. They that will not sow, however, and pre-
)) pare themselves for the harvest must commonly go empty.

91.

Cor. "FOR the administration of this contribution not only supplieth the want
2, of the saints, but is abundant also in that many give thanksgiving to God by means of this service rendered, and praise God for your obedient confession of the gospel of Christ, and for your simple community with them and all men."

92.

FINALLY, after much teaching by the apostle admonishing to community, he wished them naught other than "the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God and the community of the Holy Spirit be with you all, amen."

93.

1) THE mystery and the purport of baptism teacheth us true community, for Paul saith, "For we are all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews
or. or Greeks, bond or free." Therefore doth he say into one body, for there
13. is no higher figure or example of unity. No one can find greater love and care than that to be found in a body. The members of a capable, healthy, body are all equally dear to the body—there is no distinction, no respect of persons, though among themselves they are unequal. Though the hand is not the eye, yet are they respected equally by the body, for all members of the body enjoy together and partake of all the good that God giveth them; and each member whatever it doeth, doeth it to profit and help the others. The eyes see not for themselves, the ears hear not for themselves, the hands work not for themselves, and the feet go not for themselves. In short, no member is his own, but the body's. None leaveth the other to
2) suffer want. If the eye is in danger, the hand is in front of it. If one foot is about to slip, the other quickly supporteth it from fall. The one helpeth the other as himself. One suffereth with the other. One rejoiceth with the other. What befalleth one, befalleth also the other. They all share the necessity of the body. None is gladly away from the other. None is of any use without the other. There is pure unity, love, and service, and they agree wonderfully with each other. None can do without the other. Each alloweth gladly that the other be also cared and provided for. None hath aught of his own, but what he hath and can do is offered for the good of the whole body. What the hand earneth, it keepeth not to provide itself with gloves. What the feet do by walking is not only to provide themselves
3) with shoes, but for all in common. Into such a spiritual body are we all baptized, that we may show such community in spiritual graces and gifts and also in temporal gifts and goods which are the lesser thing. Therefore are we often named a body in the holy Scripture and members one of the other. Because of such community are we baptized as he saith into one body. What is "into one body" other than that we should not be torn, but show and observe the highest unity and community among ourselves.

94.

IN the same way, in the mystery of the bread and wine of the Supper we are likewise really taught, exhorted, and witness to Christian community. For just because of the beautiful proportion and comparison did Christ use bread and wine: No matter how many grains of corn there may be
4) each is a separate body; but when ground, they give their whole property, and when each hath lost what is his a loaf resulteth. Any grain, however, that remaineth whole in the bread is picked out and cast away. Thus, although each believer is a separate person and a special creation, yet, ground by the Word of God, they must be made one cake, and present all

that they have to the true community of the body of Christ, that is, to His church. Therefore are believers compared to good wheat. Likewise, though there are many grapes and berries, yet are they crushed in the wine press and so the juice of all becometh one drink. Thus they that believe should have and observe true unity and community, not alone in spiritual, as in the highest things, but also in temporal, as in the simplest things, with all their goods, to the honour of God and the benefit of their
(395) neighbour. But he that is not in this, is still a separate, special, unground grain of corn. Hence doth Paul say, "The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ," since we eat of one spiritual meal, of the bread of the communion of the body of Christ, so let us also have community in spiritual love: since for many heathen, not that they eat at one table, but that they are citizens of one city sufficeth for friendship. We, however, who are the citizens of one city, who have one house, one table, one way, one gate, one root, and one life, who have one head, Christ, one shepherd, one king, one master, one judge, one creator and father, must not make ourselves unworthy of the same, in that we divide our heart and love not one another.

95.

(396) TO the Galatians, Paul saith, "Ye are all the children of God by faith in
Gal. 3. Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized have put on Christ. Here is neither Jew nor Greek. Here is neither bond nor free. Here is neither man nor woman: for ye are all together one in Christ." If this is so, much more must our property be one property.

96.

Gal. "BY love serve one another, for all the law is fulfilled in one word, even
5:13. in this; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as theyself. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another." For one to serve the other in love is not to do so for payment or recompense. If thou dost consider this service—how thou shouldst love thy neighbour as thyself—thou canst not but come upon the way of Christian community.

97.

(397) THE apostle doth admonish the Ephesians clearly and saith, "Let us be
Eph. sincere in love and grow in all things unto him that is the head, Christ,
4:15, from whom the whole body is fitly joined together and the one member
16. cleaveth to the other through all the joints, in that the one doth serve the other according to the working of the Spirit within, which he doth work in each member in its own measure and maketh the body grow to its own betterment, and he doth all this in love." And where there is love there is certainly also membership in Christian community.

98.

Eph. "LET him who hath deceived and extorted, deceive and extort no more
4:28. but let him labour and make something honest with his hands, that he
(398) may have to give to him that needeth." He doth not only command him to work, but in such a way that he can help the needy.

99.

Eph. "LET not covetousness be named among you, as becometh saints. For
4:3, 5, this ye ought to have known that no whoremonger, nor unclean person,
6. nor covetous man, who is an idolator, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words: for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disbelief. Therefore have no fellowship with them." He, however, is a covetous man, who desireth, seeketh, wanteth to have and keep more than

his brother, fellow member and neighbour, who desireth at all costs to have privilege and property. Even such an idolater was Ananias, over whom the wrath of God came. For covetousness is idolatry. For, mark, they that have goods and money prepare instead of the temple a box where they place the idol. Thou sayest, however, "I worship it not." Even so will the other likewise say, "I worship the picture not, but the devil therein." Thus, even though thou dost not fall down before money and property, out of love to the same thou dost worship the devil who hath taken possession of thy heart, and all that the devil of covetousness doth suggest to thee thou dost obey and do.

100.

"NO man hath ever hated his own flesh, but he nourisheth and preserveth it." So, since we are all members one of another and are all one flesh of His flesh and bones, we ought ever so to treat one another, and none despise the other, that we despise and forsake not ourselves. For even as man and wife are one body, and have all goods in common, even so is the Christian church. "The mystery is great," saith Paul. "I speak of Christ and his church." We say therefore that here Paul saw in the clear words and teaching of Christ that divine unity and true community should be observed and proved in the body of Christ, that is, in His church.

101.

TO the Philippians Paul saith, "If there be among you any exhortation in Christ, any comfort of love, any fellowship of the Spirit, any tender love and mercy, fulfil ye my joy, that ye be of one heart and one mind, having the same love. Do naught through strife or vainglory; but in lowliness of mind let each look not to his own profit but to the profit of another. Let each be of the same mind as Christ, who, though he truly was in the form of God, regarded not equality with God as (a robber doth his) booty, but emptied himself and took the form of a servant and became as any other man and was found in fashion as a man. He humbled himself and was obedient unto death, yea, to death on the cross. Wherefore God hath also exalted him." He desireth hereby that we, likewise, even though we were glorious and rich in the world, should not regard the withdrawal of the same as robbery, but empty ourselves and take the form of a servant in the house of God, though we were previously ourselves lords in property. Now, however, we should become as any other believing man, our brother, and humble ourselves and become obedient not only in community of the Spirit, in the same love, and in the emptying oneself of one's own, but also to the losing of life. Then we shall be like-minded with Christ and have put Him on, and shall later be exalted with Him. He, however, that doth show the opposite of this hath not the mind of Christ but of the devil, with whom he also, if he so endeth, will be abased to the lowest depths in hell.

102.

"WHAT previously was gain to me, that I have for Christ's sake counted loss. For I count all things loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord, for whose sake I count all possession loss, and count it dirt and filth that I may win Christ and be found in him." Therefore are the riches of this world naught but poverty, in comparison with heavenly riches, even as this life without that is death. Hence, whosoever cannot learn to estimate what is temporal thus meanly and let it go for the sake of truth, cannot win Christ. According to the apostle's own teaching here there is no distinction between laying up money and laying up dirt. Hence we should look to see on what we set our heart, and not conform to the world. For as worms live in the earth, even so do they live in what is

earthly and temporal, and in the same way as horseflies have their joy, pleasure, and amusement in the dung of others, even so doth the world sojourn in what is foreign to it and have its joy, pleasure, and amusement in mammon, property, and wealth.

103.

Phil. 3:13-16. (404) "BRETHREN, I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. Let us therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded and walk by the same rule and be of the same mind." Behold how he doth teach the forgetting and letting go of what is temporal and to this doth add the virtues of the perfect. How then can they desire or shall they reach forth unto those things which are before who have not only not forgotten what is behind—their property—but fight mightily to keep the same?

104.

Phil. 3:17-19. (405) "BRETHREN, be followers together of me, and mark them which walk so as ye have us for an ensample. For many walk, of whom I have told you often, and now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ, whose end is destruction, whose God is their belly—an idol which they serve, as he saith in another place—and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things." For if they have but good incense to offer to their belly, they are well pleased and serve and care for the same for ever and ever, planning, thinking, and considering day and night for the belly's sake. They fatten the same, but heed not their soul. They adorn the body and seek after gold pieces for clothing, like whores to whom clothes are dearer than the soul. The body they clean and adorn: the soul they leave lying in all manner of filth. The belly must be full. The soul they allow to starve to death. Thus certainly the belly is their god.

105.

Phil. 4:18, 19. "I AM full, having received from Epaphroditus, that from you came an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable and well-pleasing to God. But my God shall supply all your need according to his riches in glory by Christ Jesus."

106.

(406) Col. 2:18. TO the Colossians saith Paul, "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, and is vain and puffed up by his fleshly mind, and holdeth not to the Head; from which the whole body receiveth what is necessary through joints and bands, and knit together, groweth to the size God granteth." Note well here, what it meaneth that the members care for one another and are knit together, and let not thyself be turned by the adversary from the mind of Christ and His apostles.

107.

Col. 3:14. (407) Matt. 19:21. "ABOVE everything put on love, which is the bond of perfection, and let the peace of God be ever victorious in your hearts, to the which also ye are called in one body"—that is naught else than to a true community and unity, to which bond of perfection Christ likewise called the rich young man when He said to him, "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give it to the poor."

108.

I Thess. 4:9-11. "BUT as touching brotherly love ye need not that we write unto you: for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another, and indeed ye do it toward all the brethren which are in all Macedonia: but we beseech you,

dear brothers, that ye become yet more perfect; and that ye strive to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you."

109.

"GODLINESS with contentment is a great benefit. For we brought nothing into this world, therefore it is manifest that we will carry nothing out. If we have food and clothing let us be content. For they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For covetousness is the root of all evil, the mother of all evil things, a castle of all wickedness, a base of all sin, which doth grow and climb to the heights on the ladder of evil and leadeth to much sorrow. But thou, O man of God, flee from such!" For just as thou dost see a man bound hand and foot and with fetters about his neck, even so whomsoever covetousness and the lust for wealth doth once bind, it doth fetter with a thousand chains about his neck, and maketh him also love these bonds.

110.

"TEACH them that are rich in this world, that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God; that they do good, give gladly and have all things in common; laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life." Mark, here, how one should admonish and lead the rich in this world, teaching the forsaking of all things and having of all things in common.

111.

PETER the apostle saith, "Love one another with a pure heart fervently, as they who have been born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, namely, of the living word of God, which abideth for ever." Hence we are called reborn men and new creatures in that we ought to be welded together in love to true community. Which thing is not the way of the old carnal man and of the world. Consider well: Shall not they that have fervent love in their hearts share all that they have with one another, and place the same at the disposal of all?

112.

"USE hospitality one to another without grudging, and serve one another, each with the gift that he hath received from God, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God"—to do which thing is completely contrary to property.

113.

"SO use all your diligence and in your faith bring forth Christian virtue, and in this virtue, knowledge; and in knowledge, humility and temperance; in humility, patience; in patience, the kindliness of God; in the kindliness of God, brotherly love; in brotherly love, love to all. For if these things be in you and abound, ye shall be neither barren nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ."

114.

"BUT there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in pernicious sects, and thus deny the Lord that bought them, and bring upon themselves swift destruction. And many shall follow them in their condemnation of others, and by them the way of truth shall be evil spoken of, and through covetousness (mark, through covetousness!) shall they with feigned words attack you and seek to win you." Even as today there are many such attackers, enticers, and ear ticklers, who, like the thieves and murderers

climbing in at a completely different place from the narrow door, seek to crawl in, one at the window and another by the chimney. They condemn the narrow way, and give the flesh play enough. They deceive themselves
(412) out of their unloving, covetous hearts that it is sufficient if they give alms and lend as much as they desire, in accordance with the love of the Pharisees, heathen, and the ungodly of this world, who do the same the one to the other and teach that one need not deny all things, and warn one not to sell and forsake all things and give to the poor. One can, nevertheless, go to heaven. "Yea," they say, "thou mayest truly keep and possess thy house and tiny farm, thy kitchen and small cellar and have thine own purse, as the world doth, and remain with what is thine, and nevertheless be devout and blessed, even though thou givest not what is thine for the use of all." Therefore saith the apostle, "Through covetousness shall they with feigned words and excuses deal with you and entice you: whose judgment now of a long time lingereth not, and their damnation slumbereth not."

115.

(413) JOHN, the apostle and outstanding teacher of love, saith in his epistle,
I John 3. "That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye may have fellowship with us; and we all may have fellowship with the Father and with the Son, Jesus Christ. If we say that we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth: but if we walk in the light, as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin." Therefore it followeth, conversely, that if we have not fellowship one with another, we are still walking in darkness. Therefore even as by night, when no light is present, wood, lead, iron, silver, gold, precious stones, and all other things are alike to us and we see no difference—not that the fault lieth in them, but in our weak eyes—even so are they that love and possess earthly things.
(414) They cannot understand that they are deceived until they are freed from their blindness and awake from the night and their dream.

116.

I John 2:8-11. "A NEW commandment I write unto you, because the darkness is past and the true light now shineth. He that loveth his brother (naturally, as himself) abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him. But he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes."

117.

I John 3:10, 11, 16. "IN this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother. For this is the message that ye heard from the beginning
(415) that ye should love one another. Hereby perceive we love, because he laid down his life for us; and we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren. But whosoever hath this world's goods or possessions, and seeth his brother have need, and hardeneth his heart against him, how dwelleth the love of God in him? My children, let us not love in word, neither in tongue; but in deed and in truth." Consider here what deed and truth is.

118.

I John 4. "BELOVED, let us love one another: for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God and knoweth God. He that loveth not knoweth not God; for God is love. In this was manifested the love of God toward
(416) us: that God sent his only begotten Son into this world, that we might live through him. Herein was love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. Beloved, if

God so loved us, we ought also to love one another." Because God, out of loving-kindness to the human race and out of love to us, gave us the dearest treasure of His riches and costliest jewel, His only Son, to be the propitiation for our sins, He desireth that we also should show such love to one another—how much more should we present our treasure of temporal things to the common use and benefit of our brothers. For if a man hath not so much love to his brothers, how doth he then desire to be so shameless and hope to enjoy the love of God in that He gave His beloved Son for us? If thou desirest to partake of the love of God, that He may allow thee to taste heaven and all eternal good together with all God's children, and dost cleave to thine own little beggar's wallet, which thou wilt not hand over and give to the children of God here, that they may have it in common with thee and thou with them—so dear are they not to thee—how then canst thou, thou gross and shameless man, confidently expect from God community of goods in heaven? As Job saith, "What is the hope of the hypocrite that he is so covetous? Will God hear his cry when fear cometh upon him?"

119.

"GOD is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him. Herein is our love made perfect, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment: because as he is, so are we in this world. Let us love him, because he hath first loved us. If a man say he loveth God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? And this commandment have we from him, That he who loveth God love his brother also." Therefore all the love and good that we would do God Himself and Christ, if we had Him present with us, we should do also to the brother who is a fellow member of the body of Christ. For, since we cannot have Him present in the body, for He is ascended up into heaven, He hath placed brothers at our side. If Christ still dwelt with us in the body, wouldst thou not most gladly share all that thou hast with Him, and even more? If this is true, then do the same now with thy brother. Then men will see thereby that thou dost, and wouldst have done it, unto Christ.

120.

"BELOVED, thou dost faithfully whatsoever thou doest to the brethren, and to guests; which have born witness of thy truth before the church; and thou hast done well, that thou hast brought them forward on their way after a godly sort. I wrote unto the church: but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the preeminence among them, receiveth us not. Wherefore, if I come, I will remember his deeds which he doeth, prating against us with malicious words: and not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and forbiddeth them that would, and casteth them out of the church." Mark here, how the apostle rebuketh severely him that doeth to the contrary.

121.

TO the Hebrews the apostle saith, "God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have shewed toward his name, in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister; but we desire that every one of you do shew the same diligence to the full assurance of hope unto the end." Now mark, how the believers of old served and treated the saints and not their own property and covetousness.

122.

"LET us consider one another to provoke unto love and to good works: not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another: and so much the more, as ye see the day

approaching." For such assembling of ourselves together is the difference between us and the beasts, not only in dwelling together but also in the bond of love. For the one helpeth the other, the one watcheth over the other, the one protecteth the other from harm. For if we have received from our Creator an infirm nature which can do naught of itself, this is turned to our benefit, for in these things is the well-being of our soul furthered, that our infirmities and wants are helped by the dwelling together of brothers; for what one lacketh should be supplied through the help of the others, whether it be in temporal or spiritual things. Hence
(421) saith Solomon, "Better is a neighbour that is near than a brother far off." It would take too long to recount what benefit one receiveth from this deep and loving life together. Therefore doth Christ say, "If thy brother sin against thee, rebuke him," for He knew and desired them to live, gathered together, as the three thousand and five thousand lived in Jerusalem. All were with one accord in the "shed of Solomon," and had one house, one table, and one soul. For the prophets prophesy much—especially Isaiah—concerning such coming together, unity and community:
Isa. 49:12, 18. that it was to come to pass, when he saith, "They shall come from far: some from the north and west, and some from the land of Sinim, that is, from the south. Lift up thine eyes round about, and behold: all these gather themselves together, mark, gather themselves together and come to
(422) thee. And thou shalt clothe thee with them all, as with an ornament, and bind them on thee, as a bride doeth. Then shall the children which shall be born unto thee, who are barren, say in thine ears, The place is too strait. Press together, that I may sit. Behold, I will stretch out my hand to the Gentiles, and set up my standard to the people: and they shall carry thy sons and thy daughters to thee upon their shoulders."

123.

"CALL to remembrance the former days," saith Paul, "in which, after ye were enlightened, ye endured a great fight of afflictions; partly, whilst ye were made a gazingstock both by reproaches and afflictions; and partly, whilst ye became companions of them that were so used. For ye had compassion of me in by bonds, and took joyfully the spoiling of your goods, knowing in yourselves that ye have in heaven a better, enduring and undaunted, certain possession. Cast not away therefore your joy, which hath
(423) a great reward." For through the help and community in love which we practice one to the other, we can attain the joy of future things. It is a great possession—joy and freedom in the fight of affliction and in the letting go of all temporal things; that the man through his hope of eternal life freely placeth what is heavenly before what is of the present age—that is, a great and amazing possession: to be driven by no natural urge or human consideration, but through greatheartedness to overcome the weakness and grasping nature of the body. But still much greater and unbounded is the consequent future reward, which no human tongue, however eloquent, can express. Yea, it hath never entered into the heart of man what exceeding great and excellent glory God hath prepared for them
(424) that love him—yea, Paul telleth us—who look not on what is visible, but on what is invisible; for what is visible is temporal, but what is invisible is eternal.

124.

Heb. 11. "ABRAHAM, a father and prefiguration of all believers, when he was called by God, obeyed, and went out from his home and from his kin and his fatherland, and dwelt in tents with Isaac and Jacob, the heirs with him of the same promise: for he looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. These all died in faith, not having re-

ceived the promises, but having seen them from afar, and were convinced of them and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth. For they that say such things declare plainly that they seek a country. And truly, if they had thought of that country from whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have returned. But now they desired a better country: wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God: for he hath prepared for them a city." How much more are we, in the new covenant, strangers and pilgrims on the earth! None hath a footbreadth that is his own, but as a stranger and wanderer in this inn and tent, doth take only what is necessary for his needs, and seeketh only the abiding, eternal city of complete good which is promised us in heaven. There, only, is our citizenship, our home, fatherland, and property. If one born of a noble house and excellent parents goeth to a foreign land where no one knoweth him and must sojourn there, and the same is reviled by some one, should he take offense as if he were at home there? On the contrary, if he knoweth that he is a pilgrim in a foreign land it persuadeth him to endure all things—whether scorn, hunger, thirst, or the like—submissively. If thou art taken by another to Persia that thou mayest see the same and immediately return again, and he commanded thee to build an house there, wouldst thou not rebuke his folly, as one who doth persuade thee to unnecessary expense? Even so is it with our pilgrimage here in this world.

125.

"BY faith Moses, when he was come to years, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt, for he had his eyes upon the reward." How much more should we, who have not by any means the possessions and wealth of Pharaoh's daughter, refuse and deny such, and choose rather to suffer evil and await good with the church of Christ than to have temporal prosperity and means of our own, as we, in our impatience, desire. For we should esteem the poverty of the church of Christ greater riches than the delight of the world and should have our eyes upon the reward of the devout, and, contrariwise, upon the end of the ungodly, who go to their fathers, where one never more seeth the light. What is in their house doth continue. Their dwellings remain and are called by their name on earth, but they remain not in such dignity, but die and lie in hell like sheep. Death shall gnaw them, and hell will be their dwelling.

126.

"LET brotherly love continue. Be not forgetful to entertain strangers: for thereby some have entertained angels unawares. Let your walk be without covetousness: and be content with such things as ye have, for he hath said, I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee. To do good and to share forget not, for through such sacrifices is one reconciled with God."

127.

"IF ye fulfill the royal law according to the scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself (mark, as thyself), ye do well: but if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors. For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all." Mark here, the apostle calleth it a royal law—that each should love the other as himself—for this reason: that it should be especially observed with all earnestness as a supreme command. Now they that love one another in truth will most certainly also give their temporal things to be used in common.

128.

(429) Jas. 2:14-17. "WHAT doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? Can empty faith save him? If a brother or sister be naked and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, God advise you, be ye warmed and filled, but giveth him not what is needful to the body; what doth it profit? Even so faith, if it hath not works, is dead in itself." Therefore though a man confess and say he believeth in one holy Christian church and community of saints, while in his church there is no community, and he himself is not for community in deed and truth, then is his faith a dead faith and he himself is a liar and hath the deceitfulness of Belial.

129.

(430) JOHN, in the Apocalypse, writeth at the command of God to the church of the Laodiceans, which was neither cold nor warm, "Thou sayest I am rich and increased with goods and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, poor, blind, and naked. I counsel thee to buy of me that which hath been tried in the fire." Here he desireth that they buy —that is, attain through earnest constancy in prayer and win from God— the ardent, divine, true love which can suffer no natural love but smelteth and consumeth everything that is of the earth. For no matter what a man may know, if he freeth not himself from the love of created things he knoweth not yet what he should know; for "Thou dost yet lack much," saith the Lord, "for thou dost love the creature before the Creator." For as long as man is not free and liberated from all created things, but is held by and (431) entangled in the net of natural love, he cannot fly to God. Therefore it furthereth a man greatly to have a detached view of temporal things and to pay little heed to what is superfluous. This one can see in the example of the birds of the air, which pick up their food from the earth, and in a twinkling and as quickly as possible soar from the dust into the heights that they be not snared or caught. For whosoever desireth to follow too far the desires of the body, including natural love—to say naught of having property—will soon be caught by the guile of (the Old) Adam, for when poverty harmeth not, he maketh his snare of riches. There is naught that maketh man so subject to the devil as the natural love to pursue money and to be overcome by the desire to have much property. However (432) much of truth thou mayest say to one whose heart is riveted to possessions and money, thou canst seldom do aught for him that is of any avail.

130.

I Cor. 16:2. THE world and false brothers say, however, "But Paul doth write clearly to the Corinthians that each on the first day of the week should lay by him in store for the poor saints what he can and what seemeth good to him."

I Cor. 3. ANSWER: Just for this reason doth Paul see a great lack in the Corinthians and saith, "I cannot speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk and not with strong meat, for ye could not bear it, neither can ye now. For ye are carnal." Therefore Paul had reason, because of the time, to have patience with them and to pass over certain things, and, indeed, he had to do so, but true community is not therefore finished and done with. He teacheth (433) them, through the Macedonians, who according to their ability, and beyond their ability, had gladly given themselves utterly to the Lord and to His servants in community, that they should follow the same. As it is written, "He that gathered much had nothing over: and he that gathered little had no lack," that there may be equality. Here he desireth to draw them away from their halfhearted community and cold love to the complete, perfect community of the saints; as he then saith, "Since others are so dili-

II Cor. 8:15.

gent, I seek to prove the sincerity of your love." For Paul preached to
Cor. them no other gospel than John and Peter preached to the three thousand
and five thousand at Jerusalem and others, who remained constant in
community. Thus the worse the Corinthians did, the less are they to be
4) taken as an example to be followed. For it was certainly never the mind
and purpose of Paul, nor in his heart, that a Christian can keep and pos-
sess property for himself and use the same as pleaseth him; for all his
letters testify against this. Thus, if Peter or Paul or an angel from heaven
should teach a different community, as false brothers now teach and show,
then they would bring a different gospel. Which thing is a curse.

131.

THEY say likewise, "But one findeth that many lived separately, and had children with them. Also the widows had to provide diligently for their own and guide them well, that the children serve the parents."

ANSWER: They that dwell together must and can do that as well as they
35) that dwell separately or where but a few house together. And we readily
believe that it then took place, as can happen also today, that sundry for
the sake of their husbands or wives lived separately; also that the church
was not always able to live together in great numbers, not having place or
opportunity because of tribulation or other reasons; likewise that they
lived with their own, which, however, can take place in so far as it is in
accordance with the order of the church—all this hath not abolished true
community, but the view yet remaineth that they should truly have all
their possessions in common with their fellow members, as the first sur-
render showeth; but the time demanded it and they could not be together.
For the believer should prove and observe community in love to his neigh-
bour living with few as well as with many, and with many as well as with
few. And at this time, when it is possible, we cannot use such words as a
36) screen. Nor were they written by the apostles that true community should
thereby be done away, and should never come into being: that truly was
never their intention.

132.

THEY bring forward, "But Simon the sorcerer of Samaria, who was accepted into the church as a brother, had money, for he offered the apostles money for the gift of God." Answer: Simon was just as much a Christian as Ananias and Sapphira, yea, as Judas Iscariot, who betrayed the Lord, and as all false brothers are today. Therefore did the Apostle Peter declare unto him that his heart was not upright, but was full of bitter gall, yea, packed full with iniquity. Therefore nothing is to be ratified by a false
37) Christian, nor did the Apostle Philip begin or preach any other doctrine
of community than the other apostles and Peter at Jerusalem.

133.

THEY also cast up that one readeth of a woman disciple in the town of Joppa, named Tabitha, who in her life was full of good works and almsdeeds. "Now if she had had no money of her own or other possessions, she could not have been able to help others and give alms." Answer: Property is in no way to be confirmed or maintained herewith, because Luke writeth that among the believers, after the teaching and preaching of the Apostle Peter, none said of his goods that they were his own, but they had all things in common. And there are still (God be praised!) such women disciples and Christians in the church of God, who show themselves full of good works, almsdeeds and community without the possessing of goods of their own—which they have no longer, but have placed every-
38) thing for the common use and good of all. Now, however, all their daily

work, skill, and gain is a pure almsdeed, for all their exertions are for the sake of their neighbours.

134.

THEY say also, "Onesimus, one of Philemon's servants, took something from his master and then ran away. Now if Philemon had had no property, Onesimus could not have taken anything from him." Answer: That doth not meet the mark and hath no connection with property, to prove the same. Even today one might run away and carry off something from one of our elders or another or do some harm, but it followeth not that one among us hath his own property or money. Paul writeth to Philemon, mainly, that he might receive Onesimus in love, in fellowship and kindness as a brother, and on no account withdraw himself. To show him that it is his duty to do this he layeth before him the basis of the doctrine given
(439) by the Holy Spirit, in that he saith, "Philemon, if thou dost regard me as thy comrade, receive Onesimus as myself. Albeit, Philemon, I do not say to thee that thou owest thine own self to me." (Mark, it is a debt.) Now if one understandeth not here that Paul requireth the community of saints, he must truly be blinded by the god of this world.

135.

THEY continue their argument and say, "Paul and Peter write not to the rich that they should make their possessions common, but that they should not be proud, should give gladly, and use their money well." Answer: Here he doth not mean the rich in the church but the rich of this world. Therefore this is at most but a command to teach the rich of this world that they be rich in good works and in this way strive toward community.
(440) But to the members of the church he prescribeth that none should seek his own benefit but the benefit of another: that they should live as members of one body, having the same care, one for the other, and showing the same love, brotherly love, love to all, loving their neighbour as themselves. Yea, that true love is that which seeketh not its own profit, but seeth that there is equality. That is, that they should receive one another as Christ hath received us, and that each should serve the other with the gift that he hath received from God—all of which doth utterly oppose and contradict the man that standeth for property. Thus if one desireth to speak of the right use of possessions, it can mean naught else than the usage of the first apostolic church, which was followed by the three thousand and five thousand at Jerusalem, and to act in accordance with the manifold teaching of Christ and the apostles which everywhere teacheth
(441) and pointeth to community.

136.

THUS the world and the false comrades do cover themselves with this trapping of fig leaves, "Oh, I am but a steward of what is temporal. It is not mine but God's, and is but lent me by God for the good of my neighbour." Answer: If it is true that thou sayest it is not thine, and yet thou dost use it as thine, and dost quarrel with another over it as to whether thou shouldst call it thine or not, and dost possess what thou shouldst distribute, having nothing of thine own but what is common to all, then thou art thyself lord and ruler over it, who doeth and leaveth undone therewith what he will, acteth as his own heart impatiently desireth, as his own master and not the slave of Christ. Thou dost make thyself appear outwardly full of freedom from all things and of life, and avarice and death hath already pierced thine heart. Thou dost boast of faith in Christ, who
(442) owned not so much as that on which to lay His head. And thou dost become Protestant in order to obtain much property. Oh, weigh thyself

on the balance! Let us see how much thou hast for the benefit of thy servant, thy neighbour, and thy fellow!

137.

THEY say also—the covetous and they that have grown cold in love, who wriggle about like a worm on the earth—that this referreth to spiritual community and distribution, to one doctrine, one faith and knowledge of the Son of God. Answer: One should know that where such spiritual community is in truth, there is also outward community of goods. Truly the one cannot be without the other or continue without the other—otherwise it would follow that the inner baptism of the Spirit is enough and the outward confirmation of the baptism of water is unnecessary. These two, likewise, would not be the one without the other. It would also follow, if one desired to make such a separation and disturbance, that it is the same as if the outward sign, or using of the bread and wine of the Supper, is not necessary, since one can inwardly and spiritually remember and thank Him for His death, the pouring out of His blood and His glorious redemption. No, both must be together. One should do the one, and not leave the other undone. For it is not only written, "They were all of one heart and one soul," but also that they had one purse. For whosoever is unfaithful in what is small, that is, in temporal things, is also unfaithful in what is great, that is, he is unfaithful and good for nothing in spiritual things. For if such an one have not the love to present his goods and possessions to be used in common and equally in community, who will believe that he so loveth the brothers that he could lay down his life for them, as Christ and the apostles teach us?

138.

THEY may also say, "It is written and Sirach saith it, Give not thy goods to another: lest it repent thee, and thou entreat for the same again." Answer: That is well and rightly said by Sirach—especially in his time, and also now; for we teach also that if one hath not the good foundation and certainty of truth, and should later repent it, that such an one should keep his goods. That we say to each beforehand, before we accept him. Yea, we accept none without first warning him in this matter, that he knoweth, considereth, and counteth the cost before he doth present and surrender himself with what is his in community, that he cheat not himself. Then if he later falleth away we give him not the same again, owing him nothing, since what one giveth away as a gift *today* of his own free will, after considering well and without coercion, with good reason and understanding, with conscious knowledge, completely unhurried, is no longer his *tomorrow*. And even if they should later break their surrender and the word given at Christian baptism, we cannot break our word, make it invalid or deny it; and it is not in our power to give again to him that which he voluntarily presented to the Lord and His people, because it is the Lord's matter, and they have made this bond and surrender with the Lord God, of which thing heaven and earth, also all the saints of God present, were taken as witnesses. For it was not lent, or given to be stored up, that the church should have to pay it back. We can make of the church and house of God no such pawnshop. In addition, we use the same at once for the commmon need, and spend it immediately for all manner of necessary food and clothing, so that often there is not a single halfpenny or farthing of it left. And if one had to give the same back it would be impossible for the church, since they that bring little or nothing to the church are many more than they that bring somewhat or much into the church. And if one should desire an account of what one brought, one must also have an ac-

count for those who brought naught, often with children, widows, and orphans, some weak and long ill, costing much. Who desireth to give the church aught again for this? Also, we have neither a story nor a command of Christ or of the apostles saying that such temporal things should be repaid to such as fall away. If the apostles had given it back, Ananias would not have needed to keep back part of his money that he might still have somewhat if he could not carry it out—it would all have become his again. Therefore whosoever hath not the confidence to endure with God's help,
(447) had a thousand times better leave us alone. For we seek not what is theirs, but them and their salvation. Nor do we accept any for the sake of money. If one hath many hundred and thousand florins, but hath no right heart or good confidence, if we but know or sense this we desire neither him nor his money. But wherever we sense a right heart, zeal, and the knowledge of God, we accept him with joy, though he have not a farthing. Where, however, one that falleth away desireth modestly of us the cost of food or help, and acteth not too insolently, we send him not away empty and without food, even though he brought nothing to us.

139.

WE are all called to one hope and to the same inheritance. For, where a father hath many children—unless they are bastards and disobedient, thereby disinheriting themselves—they are equally capable of his inherit-
(448) ance. Therefore, if we say that we have community in spiritual things (such as faith in God, the Gospel, Christ, and in the gift of the Holy Spirit), and desire to inherit the heavenly inheritance together, all the more should we show the same here in temporal things. Therefore are we called "the state of sonship" and not "a state of servitude," where each hath for himself; but we are called children of God.

140.

THEREFORE are we also brothers, in that we have and show brotherhood, as Christ saith, "Ye shall not be called master: for one is your master, even Christ, and all ye are brothers." Now they that are brothers share alike with one another, and the more alike, the more brotherly; they, however, that desire not to share alike with one another, but look each to his own privilege and treasure, and behave or act unfaithfully to-
(449) ward another—that is, not brotherly—though they call themselves brothers, yet are they false brothers. Thus is it, in accordance with truth, in the brotherhood of Christ, that they alone are called brothers that prove they are in deed. Therefore if our brother is our fellow heir in the kingdom of heaven, we should also make him our fellow heir here.

141.

GOD desireth not that His children here on earth at this time should live like cattle, like a cow, like a donkey, and like a buffalo; for each doth but fill his belly and considereth much less than dogs, that know no satiety, or than the sows that want to take possession of the trough alone, and to leave only what is left over for the rest. But he desireth that his own
(450) should live here on earth as newborn men and as members of a body.

142.

COMMUNITY is or meaneth naught else than to have everything in common or everything alike out of love to one's neighbour, and for none to have aught of his own. Which thing can take place in no higher, more perfect way than that each should give himself that the other may have the same benefit (as himself), as they that desire from henceforth to endure together evil and good, yea, joy and sorrow. Each desireth to be the other's neighbour, faithful debtor, member, and devoted friend. That is

the Christian church and community of saints. Which thing is not tyrannical or unnatural or impossible where love hath entered. For, if fathers according to the flesh live poorly and save from their own mouths in order to be able to advise and help their children; likewise a mother denieth her own hungry stomach somewhat, and holdeth it out to her loved child—should believers then not be able to have their temporal goods alike and in common with one another? That would be unchristian, because we should love our neighbour and fellow member as ourselves: have with him, want with him, suffer with him, endure ups and downs with him. That is no community, no unity, no membership one of another or equal benefit, when each hath his own possession, his own house, his own field and goods, his own kitchen, his own cellar, and his own table—let them say what they will.

143.

THEREFORE doth property belong not to the Christian church, but to the world. It is in heathendom. It is among those that have not the love of God, yea, among those that live in accordance with their own will: for if the individual will were not, then ownership were not. But true community of goods belongeth to believers. For by divine right, saith Augustine, all things should be common, and no man should take to himself what is God's, any more than he can divide the air, rain, snow or water, also the sun, moon, and the elements. Even so temporal goods, which God in the same proportion and measure hath given for common use, should not and may not be made one's own. This cannot be in accordance with divine and Christian right, for owning and ownership is against the nature and character of His creation. Whosoever encloseth and maketh his own what is and should be free, acteth against Him who hath made and created it free, and that is sin, as *Theologia Germanica* saith. But through the acquired wickedness of man, through envy, through avarice each doth lay up everything in his bag. And the one saith, "That is mine!" and the other, "That is mine!" and so is a division come among men. Yea, a great inequality in this life, and alas! it is come so far that could they reach the sun and moon and enclose the elements, they would make them their own and sell them for money.

144.

SOME desires are indeed necessary, for example, in the case of an animal, eating, drinking, and sleeping. Others are natural, but not necessary, namely, physical love. But the desire and love of money is neither natural nor necessary, but superfluous. For gold and silver for a long time lay hidden. Therefore is it an acquired evil, coming from the counsel of the serpent and of the devil which beguiled Eve with the apple. Even so doth the world with silver and gold. Of virginity Christ saith, "He that is able to receive it, let him receive it," but of money, "He that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple." For one single soul cannot satisfy so many desires, but one always suppresseth the rest. For he that hath but one child loveth it beyond measure: he that hath many must divide his agreeableness. Therefore is it not possible for a man to devote his zeal and labour sufficiently to both things. And in the same way as it is most dangerous for a child to have a knife in his hands, or a madman a sword, even so is property and wealth harmful to men—yea, much more harmful. For the madman leaveth his madness and becometh quiet when he stabbeth himself with his sword, but not so the self-seeking and covetous man, for he receiveth daily thousands of wounds. Desires for money and wealth are things that comprise countless ills. Therefore we must drive these desires from our hearts.

145.

(455) COVETOUSNESS is a dangerous and evil disease, which blindeth man's eyes, stoppeth his ears, so that naught is more contemptible and tedious to him than to hear of community and letting all things go. It withereth the hands so that they are of no use for serving others. They lose understanding and know not what they do on earth or why they are on the earth. Covetousness letteth neither itself, the conscience, nor one's own soul know salvation, for the most base matter of metal doth control it and rule it, and yet the soul believeth itself to rule and be lord over others. Therefore is there nothing more foolish and nothing worse than to serve and cleave to money and covetousness. They rejoice to entangle themselves mightily in bonds, and are exceeding glad and filled with jubilation if they see themselves crushed down by the dog of covetousness. They give the same all the more to devour that he may become the more strong, and in this
(456) way they make for themselves innumerable ways to hell. For just as fire, when one putteth much wood on it, groweth greater, even so is it with covetousness: the more one bringeth to it, the more it raiseth itself up. What they have they heed not, but put it away behind them and snatch at what is before them, and before long end as Aesop's dog did. Therefore we should consider this, flee from it with the greatest diligence, and seek for a remedy for this disease, that we may slay the cruel beast and pull covetousness out by the roots. This pestilential disease hath ruined the earth. This sin hath turned all things topsy-turvy, so that one pineth away with hunger and another destroyeth himself with fullness, one goeth about naked and another heapeth up clothes upon clothes, which are consumed by moths. Hence are there so many tramps and beggars that lament and cry for alms in every lane and before the houses. This crime and de-
(457) ceit of Belial hath filled streets with blood and towns with weeping and wailing. It hath drawn us away from the most blessed service of Christ, and gnaweth our heart away from the Word and seed of God. For if we are already doing what is good, as soon as covetousness cometh thereto, it ruineth it and it goeth from bad to worse. Such a hateful crime is covetousness before God that "if there be any that calleth himself a brother, who is a covetous man, one should have naught to do with him and should not eat with him," saith Paul. For covetousness is accounted one of the accursed deadly sins that separate from the kingdom of God. It hath ruined for men the glorious likeness of God (who hath placed us upright that we should look upwards and over ourselves to what is heavenly), and doth strike them down to what is earthly so that they cannot raise them-
(458) selves up, but, like a sow, are always drawn down to what is earthly by the devil and choose the life of the worms. This urge made Judas a traitor, ruined Ananias and his wife, covered Gehazi, who might have been a disciple and prophet, with leprosy. Yea, it is a common pest in the world; it alloweth none to be satisfied with what he hath. The eyes and the heart of such as seek alone how much money they receive behold naught but covetousness, and they never think how they should invest the money aright—mules and horses they adorn with gold; Christ, in them that are His, they leave to go naked.

146.

John 3:16. GOD so loved the world that He gave and spared not His only begotten Son for our sakes. We should have been ashamed that we behaved not as
(459) befitteth such great love and, to our own hurt (for before long we shall be borne from it, naked), we desired to spare our money and refused to give a little of what is temporal for ourselves and them that are His. How shall we answer for this? If we see that a man suffereth for our sake, we

entrust to him all that is ours, and know not what we can do for his sake. How much more should we show such a measure of gratitude to Christ, in those that are His!

147.

THAT believers did not have community of goods at Jerusalem only but also in many places is proved and testified by the old church histories such as Eusebius (*Histor: ecclesiastica,* Book II, Chapter 17). He quoteth from Philo's book, whose title is "Concerning the Contemplative Life" or "Concerning those that pray," that believing men and women were called servants of God and handmaidens of God. The origin of these words is that the Christians educated the souls of such as came to them, being still gross and without understanding, and like physicians healed them of their diseases and made them healthy. Or, since they were in the true service of God, enduring with a good conscience, they received this name on account of their life. But it is not of importance whether Philo was the first to give Christians this name on account of their works, or whether it was those who at the beginning lived in accordance with the Gospel before the name of "Christian" rang through the whole world, as long as the life showed to whom the name rightly belonged. Philo saith, "They, however, that devote themselves to this teaching and philosophy of the Christians, give up all their goods and possessions and withdraw from all the cares of this life. They avoid the cities and dwell in gardens and alcoves, and flee from inordinate society, for they know that all these things hinder those that dare to walk on the narrow way of virtue." Even so is it said that they lived who shone in a fervent, fiery faith. As one readeth in the Acts of the Apostles of them that lived in Jerusalem and believed with the apostles, that they sold their possessions and laid the money at the apostles' feet, that one gave and divided out to each what was necessary, and there were no poor among them. Philo thus writeth that it was even so with the believers in Alexandria. He saith also that in many places on the earth this kind of man was to be found—also in Greece among the barbarians, for there must have been many places which became partakers of this good thing. There are many such groups in Egypt in many places, especially about Alexandria, where many devout people have come from all directions and places, in the same way as the plowman hasteneth to where he findeth good fields.

LIKEWISE in the year A.D. 92 Clement writeth to his brother in the faith James, the Lord's brother in Jerusalem, and saith. "A common life is necessary for all, especially for such as fight, blameless, for God and desire to follow the life of the apostles and their disciples; for truly in this world things should be held in common by all men, but through acquired wickedness, one saith: That is mine, and another, That is mine, and thus hath a division taken place among men—but not out of the counsel of God. Therefore hath the wisest of the Greeks said and recognized: Just as the sunlight cannot be divided, and the air—even so should one have all other things in common in this life, and not divide them." Thereupon he quoteth the 133d Psalm and the usage of the first church at Jerusalem—that everything hath been given for common use.

AUGUSTINE, the old teacher, who ran his course some 370 years after Christ, doth let it be known that even in his time such was to be found, and saith, "A Christian is a distributor or steward of his goods, not a lord: and by divine right all things should be in common" (*August. Epist. 48*). And in another place, "By human right, and not by divine, one saith, The village is mine!"

(464) JOHN Chrysostomus, who lived in the year A.D. 390, in his exposition of John the evangelist saith among other teachings concerning the first chapter, "In what way can we become disciples of Christ? Even thus; if we use all things for the common good and not for our profit. For Christ did not please Himself." And he saith much in the same direction, but they soon let the perfect work go, and give in to men. Further, over the first chapter of John the evangelist, he saith among other things, "We should strive with all our power to be disciples of Christ, who saith, The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay His head. This I would require of you, saith he. Perhaps many consider this very difficult, therefore through our weakness we have left this perfection. But I hold out before you that ye should not
(465) grasp and stare at money, but, even as I do in great weakness, strive toward this high virtue. Thus it behooveth you that ye withdraw yourselves from the greatest wickedness—that ye possess goods, not as a servant but as a lord—and be not possessed by them."

THEOLOGIA Germanica saith, "Were there no self-will, there would be also no ownership. In heaven there is no ownership; hence there are found content, true peace, and all blessedness. If any one there took upon himself to call anything his own, he would straightway be thrust out into hell, and there would become a devil. Where one will have self-will, there is all manner of misery and wretchedness. So is it also here on earth. Thus, he who hath something, or seeketh or longeth to have something of his own, is himself a slave, namely, to what he desireth or hath; and he who hath nothing of his own, neither seeketh nor longeth thereafter, is free
(466) and at large, and in bondage to none."

LIKEWISE, Christ, "Follow me!" But he who will follow Him must forsake all things, for He Himself was free of all things. Therefore He saith, "He that forsaketh not all that he hath and taketh the cross upon him, is not worthy of me. He is not my disciple and followeth me not."

148.

PAUL, the apostle, saith, "I live not, but Christ liveth in me." That is, "Christ is my life." Now in whomsoever Christ liveth, and not he himself, in him Christ will do even that which he himself did: namely, he will have all things in common with his disciples. He in whom Christ liveth, hath nothing of his own whereon to lay his head. With him in whom Christ liveth it is a case of, "All that is mine is thine, and what is thine is mine." Yea, he in whom Christ liveth shareth what little bread and what few fish he hath and doth possess in community with the four thousand and the five thousand.

Kirchenzucht bei Zwingli. Von Roger Ley. No. 2 in *Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des schweizerischen Protestantismus.* Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1948. Pp. 161. Sfr. 9.

A Review and Discussion

I

A slight acquaintance with the prehistory of the Anabaptist movement in Zürich between 1523 and 1525 makes it clear that the issue of baptism was really secondary, not only theologically, but also chronologically. The first concern of Stumpf, Grebel, Manz, and Castelberger, along with Zwingli, was the renewal of the church of Zürich in conformity with the Word of God. The difference between the two currents of Reformation thought arose when Zwingli, refusing to break with the Middle Ages, decided that for him the Christian church in Zürich must continue to be identical with the total population of the city. With that the question of whether Scripture was to be finally authoritative was also decided, although Zwingli was not at the time aware of the fact. Most of what is awkward in Zwingli's theology comes from his efforts to justify Biblically the consequences of his choice in favor of the retention of the *Volkskirche.*

The men around Grebel, without seeking separation for its own sake, were driven to accept it as a consequence of insistence on the ultimate authority of Scripture. At first they agreed with Zwingli that, with proper teaching, the whole city would "come along" and that the expulsion of a few open sinners would be a simple matter.[1] Yet in the following months we observe the growing realization that not even a majority of the city, not even a majority of the councilors, not even a majority of the preachers, not even Zwingli, could be counted on to accept all that Scripture demands of the disciplined fellowship of faith. In this process of progressive disappointment the Grebel group came to be aware of the "world" as a theological fact. The concept of the "world" as signifying that totality of humanity which rejects God's will became a structural element in their thought as it never was in that of the Reformers; thus the ban, the understanding of the church as constituted by evangelism, and believers' baptism (in that order) fell into place as parts of a whole. Since the church is a fellowship of discipline, it must be made up of those who have responded to the call to repentance and faith. If this be true of the church, it must be true of baptism as well. Believers' baptism is more a result than a cause of the Anabaptist view of the church.

That the character of the church as a fellowship in disciplined discipleship was more important to the Anabaptists than baptism itself is betrayed by the fact that, when asked the reason for their having left the state church, they pointed uniformly not to the fact that they themselves had received proper baptism upon confession, nor to the fact that the members of the state church were not properly baptized, but to the presence of usurers, liars, drunkards, and adulterers in the church, who were not disciplined.

It is therefore to be welcomed as an important event when, in the re-evaluation of the Reformation which has begun in Protestant Europe,

1 The development in the thinking of the Grebel group has been fully described by Fritz Blanke in the opening pages of his *Brüder in Christo* (Zollikon, 1955). The same material was also presented as a separate article in the *Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* X (1953), 2-13. The attempt has not been made in the present discussion to support all historical references with source indications, since the events and positions described are adequately known in the standard literature and in the book under discussion.

serious attention is given to the questions which were critical in the decade which gave birth both to Protestantism and to the free church. This has been done by Roger Ley in *Kirchenzucht bei Zwingli,* a doctoral dissertation submitted to the Zürich theological faculty. It provides a worthy subject for a serious encounter between the two church traditions stemming from those Zürich beginnings.[2] The occasion for a fruitful dialogue is provided especially well by this work of Ley's, just because it brings together the same clarities and unclarities which were at the root of the division in 1523-25.

The material basis of the study is an exhaustive and discerning compilation and analysis of Zwingli's thought and action with reference to church discipline, from his fundamental *Auslegung der Schlussreden* (January, 1523) to the end of his life (1531). The treatment is organized on roughly chronological lines with topical subdivisions which lead into each other in an unforced logical movement. Three appendices trace the later evolution of church discipline in Zürich, in theology and in administration, from the Reformation through the eighteenth century. Little more could be asked of the writer in the way of completeness and accuracy.

Yet the reader who follows Ley through the analysis of his material without having first committed himself to saving Zwingli's reputation becomes aware of certain points where the normative analysis loses touch with the historical and theological exposition in a way which begs to be challenged. This does not happen in an irresponsible way, so that one should be obliged to complain of lack of objectivity. In fact it is one of the qualities of the work that it combines factual objectivity with a personal evaluation which makes it clear that the historian is also a theologian and means to be a churchman. It is just because the two lines are kept clear and yet constantly interrelated, that Ley's study is a challenge to whoever accepts his historical report, without being able to accept his theological value judgments.[3]

Zwingli never doubted or denied that discipline is required in the church. It is striking that even in the later period around 1530 when the invisibility of the church was a strong element in his thought, and when, to be consistent, he should also have abandoned serious concern for the outer structure of the church, the weight of Matthew 18 and John 20 was so great that Zwingli felt obliged to do something, even if not the Biblical thing, about the ban. After having described how Zwingli develops this fundamental affirmation in 1523, in constant opposition to Roman Catholic use of the same texts, Ley follows three questions through the later history of the Zwinglian reformation. We shall do well to examine these questions one at a time.

1. *The question of purpose.* What is the theological meaning and function of the ban? Ley deals with three possible answers. That its intent should be to preserve the purity of the visible church, he considers, without serious argument, to be unrealistic and unevangelical. Zwingli flirted occasionally with this idea of the ban, especially in his

2 An article by Leonhard von Muralt (*Zwingliana,* 1936), responding to John Horsch's series of articles on the beginning of Swiss Anabaptism (*MQR* 1933-34), found a serious hearing in Mennonite circles but no direct reply, so that one cannot say that a conversation really took place then.

3 The worth of Ley's study and the rightness if his way of combining detachment and commitment is immediately visible when one compares his dissertation with the study of Heyer (*Der Kirchenbegriff der Schwärmer,* Leipzig, 1939), which deals with similar problems from a Lutheran orientation. Heyer so confuses his descriptive and evaluative judgments that his history is inaccurate and his evaluation irresponsible. The prior commitment to Luther is so unfree and so all-pervading that one feels Heyer could have come to the same conclusions if his material had said just the *opposite.* Heyer gives no point of contact for a useful discussion.

proposals for the reform of communion practice in April, 1525, which were perhaps partly meant as a concession to the Anabaptists, but were partly also a last thrust of some of his own highest ideals; yet this interpretation never became dominant in his thinking. Here Ley's own rejection is the least satisfactory, because he appears to come to his study with a preconceived view of what is Biblical, a view which a non-Zwinglian cannot follow. The core of his objection seems to lie in a kind of modern equivalent of the doctrine of the invisible church. On page 37 he distinguishes between the "believers' church" and the "empirical church" so systematically that one wonders whether belief is essentially relevant to empirical reality.

The second answer might be that the ban is a punishment. Either to protect the social order or to demonstrate God's rejection of sin, in either case with primarily pedagogical and prophylactic motives, the church insists that crime must be punished. Ley insists, rightly on the whole, that this attitude has no Biblical grounds. Yet it is this view which was nearest to Zwingli. Other views might come into his thinking occasionally, but the way he finally acted was determined primarily by the unevangelical assumption, which in spite of his criticism of Catholicism he could never shake off, that the ban is a punishment.

The third answer, which according to Ley is the only Biblical one, is that the function of excommunication is pastoral. It seeks, by making it clear to the erring member of the church that his own disobedience is severing his fellowship with God, to bring him anew to repentance and faith. Its purpose is not the expulsion of the sinner but his salvation and his return to the body of believers. This is clearly a New Testament understanding of church discipline and one in which the Anabaptists concurred, though without conceiving it as being necessarily in contradiction to concern for the purity of the church.

Zwingli occasionally grasped this pastoral and evangelistic conception of the ban from afar, but never for long. He remained so strongly imbedded in the polemic situation of his earlier years that he never came to a fresh grasping of the problem from a Biblical perspective. Catholicism possessed church discipline, which dealt in canonic courts with both secular and ecclesiastical matters in a punitive way. Both what Zwingli affirmed and what he denied were determined by his unconscious agreement and conscious disagreement with the one counterpole of Roman Catholic practice. He disagreed with the attempt to deal with "secular matters in church discipline, and thereby began the process of secularization which has removed more and more areas of life from the purview of the church. He disagreed with the hierarchical claim that the church should be sovereign in the administration of her discipline and therefore never wanted his reformed church to be independent of the state. And yet in the midst of these visible disagreements, he still accepted Catholicism's basic premise, that the intention of church discipline is punitive. In short: he accepted the way in which Catholicism posed the problem, but insisted on different answers, whereas the Biblical approach would have been to pose the problem anew. Letting one's polemic position be determined by the adversary is a sure way to lose the war, even if one might win the first battle, as did Zwingli.

2. *The question of mode.* Does church discipline mean exclusion from communion? This question is less clearly defined by Ley than one might desire, probably because he assumes in the reader the same theological education he himself has had. From the book itself it is not clear what the alternatives are which he has in mind, or what he himself feels

to be right. At one point he refers to Catholic tradition, in which exclusion from the Lord's Supper is called "excommunicatio minor" because it is *less* than the maximum possible discipline. At another point he cites Eduard Thurneysen, who has built a pastoral theology on the state-church situation. Thurneysen, in intentional contradiction to the Reformed tradition, identifies the Lord's Supper with the evangelistic offer of grace, in such a way that the backslider needs it more than anyone else. Thus exclusion from the Lord's Supper is for Thurneysen, and perhaps for Ley, *more* than the maximum possible discipline.

Zwingli did not have one clear answer to this question. In April, 1525, he moved toward the Anabaptist position, which is neither of the above alternatives; in 1527, reacting against the Anabaptists, he moved to Thurneysen's position. Ley's report on this question follows Zwingli no further than 1527. It would have been necessary, for completeness' sake, to see whether the introduction of compulsory church attendance in 1530 was seen at all consciously by Zwingli as a problem in church discipline. When one punishes, and even exiles (the severest possible civil punishment) those who do not come to preaching service, and when one makes compulsory not only hearing the sermon but also partaking of the Lord's Supper, as was done not much later, then the whole position (identified above with Thurneysen), by being driven to its logical conclusion, has become purely legalistic and actually less evangelical than Catholicism.

3. *The question of the agent.* Who administers church discipline? To this question Zwingli has two clear and apparently contradictory answers. Church discipline is the prerogative of the congregation. "Church" in the New Testament means either the universal fellowship of all believers or the local assembly (Swiss, *Kilchhör*). The local congregation alone can act in the name of the church universal. Zwingli never hesitates to encourage congregations to take into their own hands the reformation of their worship practices, if they happen to be under a Catholic or Lutheran government. He develops an extensive argument to prove that the disputations of January and October, 1523, are, because they are local assemblies of Christians, qualified to deal with all questions of doctrine.

But how should the congregation act? How, through what organs, can it take into its own hands the purification of its preaching and worship? The congregation has, apart from the priest, no other organs for decision and action than those of the civil government in which her members are already organized. Since all the governed and all the governors are in the church, nothing could be more natural to the man of the sixteenth century than that civil government should act in the name of the church. For the priest himself to take things into his own hands (for example, by ceasing on his own initiative to celebrate Mass) would be an unsavory reminder of the medieval clergy's power. To form a second set of administrative organs within the same population would be superfluous and could only make for disorder and conflicting claims of jurisdiction. The solution which Zwingli chose is irreproachable as long as one accepts the two premises: that church and state are identical in "membership," and that the administration of the state is by nature an appropriate activity for Christians.

Ley makes it abundantly clear that there is no essential change in Zwingli's attitude toward this problem. It is not the case, as one might have suspected, that an originally congregationalist idealism gradually gave way to state administration as inner and outer pressures grew. The state administration and the congregationalist theology went along side

by side from beginning to end. To the modern analyst (as to the Anabaptists) this seems to be a contradition, especially when the decisions which the Zürich council took "in the name and stead of the whole church" tended to apply to the unrepresented countryside churches, as well as to the city church which was represented. That Zwingli saw less of a contradiction in this than does Ley (who entitles one paragraph "Zwinglis schwankende Stellung in der Frage der Gemeindeautonomie") is due not only to the sociological identity of church and state in membership, but also to a deeper theological error. In reaction to the Roman Catholic hierarchy's claim to be the visible reign of Christ, Zwingli came to deny, with his doctrine of the invisibility of the church, that there can be any essential correspondence between spiritual and historical reality. Zwingli's explicit use of the concept "invisible church" comes late in his life, but the ground is laid for it in the systematic discrimination between *innerlich* and *äusserlich* which he uses against the Grebel group between 1523 and 1525, and which then becomes the center of his doctrine of baptism. For Zwingli, one of the characteristics of the spiritual is that it is not committed to any expression in the material. For him, God's sovereignty consists in His not being bound to any historical concretization. He goes so far in this direction that, entirely apart from the field of ecclesiology, he has been seriously accused of Nestorianism, and with good grounds.[4] For the denial that the true church can in a valid way be visible is in the final analysis a denial of the possibility of veritable incarnation. This metaphysical separation between the spiritual and the visible renders quite normal an ethical hiatus between the exegetical and the sociological. That the local congregation is autonomous remains valid but only as a theoretical affirmation; it has a right to act but Zwingli never says how it can act. The right to act is theological, *innerlich;* the instrumentality of execution is *äusserlich,* and therefore the business of the government. The relation between congregational and state authority is thus not purely a matter of pragmatic opportunism, as Ley once says (pp. 31, 32), but also an expression of the reformer's ontological dualism, which he brought along with him from his humanist years.

II

In dealing with Zwingli's punitive concept of church discipline as well as with his insufficient realism about congregational autonomy, Ley frankly and repeatedly confronts Zwingli's views with the New Testament and does not hesitate to note the points at which the reformer was not fully Biblical. One has the impression that Ley considers the witness of Scripture as authoritative and feels that Zwingli was wrong at those points where he was un-Biblical. At the same time, however, there is another line of thought which runs parallel to the comparison of Zwingli and the New Testament. It comes to the surface only occasionally, but when it does Ley's position seems to be quite different.

This second line of thought appears in the treatment of Zwingli's contacts with those who, in his time, sought to be more Biblical and to establish a church discipline independent of the state. Here Zwingli disagreed not only with the Anabaptists but also with most of the other reformers, especially with Oecolampad of Basel and Dominicus Zili of St. Gall. When these conflicts must be evaluated one is startled to find that Ley uniformly favors Zwingli, admitting all the while that his position was less conformed to the New Testament than was that of his adversaries. This is the point at which we must challenge seriously not

4 Ed. Zeller, *Das Theologische System Zwinglis* (Tübingen, 1853), 78 ff., 196.

Ley's report of this segment of Reformation history, but the evaluative framework in which he interprets his report. It is only regrettable that this challenge to Ley's interpretation should be expressed eight full years after the appearance of his dissertation.

1. *The reading of history.* Ley's primary reason for approving of Zwingli's decision against Biblical church discipline is purely pragmatic. Zwingli's compromise, Ley holds, saved as much as could be saved of that which Oecolampad and Zili (and the Anabaptists) wanted. To have cut the church off from the state would have meant religious chaos and the triumph of Catholicism. The Reformation would have collapsed or at best survived only as a "meaningless sect" ("meaningless" here is the opposite of "socially powerful"). Zwingli's political genius, by saving just as much as could be saved, was more realistic, and therefore more truly evangelical. In this judgment Ley joins earlier scholars like Emil Egli, who, although regretting here and there the extremes to which Zwingli went in persecuting the Anabaptists, still maintain that he was really right, for his time and situation.

Whoever has really sought to understand the developments of the 1520's in Zürich emphathetically must protest immediately that Egli and those who follow him, in seeking to compliment Zwingli, are really slandering him. Nothing could have been a greater insult to the father of the Swiss Reformation than the intended praise that calls him a realistic politician. When in 1523 he described his ideal as the "True Shepherd" and later when he spoke of the office of "Prophet" in the church, nothing was clearer than that the faithful proclamation of the Word of God can never be "realistic." The "True Shepherd" proclaims the truth, come what may, in the face of spiritual resistance which may well cost him his life. No danger can hinder him in the fulfillment of his charismatic vocation. No compromise can satisfy him until God's cause has triumphed. If Zwingli had been a realistic compromising politician there would not have been a second War of Cappel; he gave his life for his refusal to be a brilliant politician. A theocrat he was, intent on achieving God's will in society; a politician, willing to sacrifice half of his ideals to save the rest, never.[5]

When Zwingli turned the external adminstration of the Reformation over to the state it was not out of opportunism but out of conviction. Es-

5 That Zwingli was himself not a calculating and compromising political realist is demonstrated by his tendency toward the crusader's mentality. The realist seeks the best available solution at the least possible cost; the crusader, absolutizing his goals, insists on all or nothing, and is ready to sacrifice anything, even the principles for which he entered the struggle, to assure the enemy's destruction. Whereas a realistic and cautious strategy might have permitted the survival and perhaps even eventual expansion of the Reformation, Zwingli's policy had just the opposite effect. Paul Burckhardt, a most capable Reformation historian, has gone so far as to label Zwingli's politics "catastrophic" (*Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift*, 1909, 1-12, 49-61). Having begun his work as a social reformer dedicated to the freedom of the Swiss country folk, he ended by imposing the Reformation by force on the whole countryside. Having first broken with Catholic tradition by opposing foreign military commitments and having had Jacob Grebel put to death for having received a pension, Zwingli drew up war plans calling for an alliance with France and the renewal of pensions. In total disregard of century-old sworn commitments he planned calmly to demolish at one stroke the Swiss confederacy and establish a bicephalous centralized nation-state run autocratically by Zürich and Bern. He who is generally considered one of the heroes of the Swiss city-state pattern of democratic government formed and dominated, without any clear popular mandate, a secret council which largely displaced the Council of Two Hundred, the city's legitimate authority, and abandoned completely the normal practice of consulting the entire population through the guilds and the rural magistracy. (Cf. Hermann Escher, "Zwingli als Staatsman," in *Huldrych Zwingli zum Gedächtnis*, Beer & Cie., 1931, p. 82. He who laid the foundations for both the Reformed and the Anabaptist traditions by his proclamation that the all-powerful Word of God brings forth inexorably its fruits without human help, finally came to believe that God's cause could survive only with the help of Zürich's sword. Zwingli may well be called a great man; both the Reformed and the free-church traditions are his concepts. He may be called a national hero, although he would have destroyed the nation had he been given five more years; a political genius he never was nor wanted to be.

pecially is this visible between 1523 and 1525, when, against his own will, Zwingli celebrated Mass and accepted the presence of images and music in the church. We have no grounds for thinking he was anything but unhappy with this setup. He accepted it not because it was a realizable compromise with the best possible chances of survival (it wasn't that), but because he firmly believed that the powers that be are ordained of God for the administration of all external matters, including the form of worship. We may well believe that Zwingli was theologically in error, and further that his error might have been induced in part by unconscious pragmatic considerations. But to evaluate as essentially pragmatic a position which for him was essentially theological is no way to honor Zwingli. The true greatness of the founder of the Reformed church tradition is better respected if we honor the courage and originality of the man he was, than if we attempt to rehabilitate his wrong decisions with reasoning he himself would have rejected. Strikingly enough, Egli and Ley, in their backhanded compliment to Zwingli's political shrewdness, are really accepting the contemporary Anabaptist view of the events they describe. It was the Anabaptists and Dominicus Zili who accused Zwingli of being a practical compromiser. This is not the first time that Reformation historians have attempted to defend the state-church Reformer with arguments which, if valid, would have driven the Reformers themselves into the Anabaptist camp.

Our second historical objection to the argument that the Reformation's maintenance of the Constantinian pact between church and state was necessary for survival, is that history has disproved the argument. It is already hard to see how Egli as a historian could think that the Reformation really gained by the strategy which led to the truces of Cappel and Augsburg in which first half of Switzerland, and then three fourths of Europe, were definitively closed to Protestantism. Still, one can partly understand Egli because he stood within a kind of evolutionistic *Kulturprotestantismus* according to which a period of history should be judged not by the Bible, but by whether it fits into its place on the scale leading from paganism via Catholicism, Reformation, and idealism to the spiritual intercourse of "God and the soul." But how Ley, a half century and two World Wars later, can concur in the same judgment, is harder to see. He who approves of the church-state pact of the Reformation times has not finished his argument with the claim that the evangelical faith would otherwise not have survived; he must if he argues pragmatically also answer for the kind of evangelical faith which thereby *did* survive; i.e., for the chain, not only historically, but also theologically necessary, which leads from that first concession through orthodoxy to rationalism to idealism to secularism, with a new dimension of nationalism at every step. Secularization, and the resulting institutional irrelevance of the church, which is probably Dr. Ley's major problem in his pastorate, is the long-term result of the short-term realism with which he seeks to credit Zwingli.

2. *The reading of the Gospel.* Ley once (p. 34) designates as "genuinely evangelical" the freedom which Zwingli took to choose a form of church government which was clearly un-Biblical. Similarly, he argues: "To Zwingli belongs the praise for having shown most decidedly that his time could not be compared with that of the apostles. It was therefore he as well, precisely because he gave the disciplinary authority to the state in a fully un-Biblical way, who created the discipline nearest to the Biblical spirit." This statement, which comes in a footnote on the last page, has not been prepared for by anything in the whole book. It is

argued several times that Zwingli's strategy, even though inconsistent, was necessary for survival; but never in the book has Ley demonstrated that this strategy of survival is "the nearest to the Biblical spirit." Again we must dissent at several points.

There is a deep sense in which it is true that being "genuinely evangelical" can free one from legalism and false casuistry, even from legalisms and casuistries founded in the letter of Scripture. But the polemic orientation of the Reformation was such as to let Christian freedom be understood superficially and formally, not deeply. A superficial and formal freedom, however, is worse than a superficial and formal literalism. If Ley said that Zwingli, being fully evangelical, was forced in a new situation to deviate superficially from Biblical patterns in order to remain true to them in a deeper sense, we could perhaps follow him. We could at least weigh the matter on its merits. But when he says in effect that *because* Zwingli felt free *in principle* to deviate, *therefore* he was evangelical, since that kind of freedom is *eo ipso* a characteristic of the Gospel, we can only answer: this is not the *kind* of freedom which is evangelical.

As is often the case, the ultimate question is eschatological, and Zwingli, as is usually the case in mistaken eschatologies, involves himself in two contradictory errors when he tries to justify his deviation from Scripture. We have noted above the contention, made by the Zwinglian Reformers against the Anabaptists, but also against men like Zili, that the sixteenth century cannot be compared to that of the apostles. At first glance this seems like a platitude hardly worth expressing, much less answering. But when one sees the way this argument was used as a legitimation of deviation from Biblical standards, one realizes that a view of the relation of the Bible's temporality to its authority, and thus of incarnation to history, is involved; in short, an eschatology.

This error argues first of all that our times are essentially better than those of the apostles. The apostles had church discipline because there was no other choice; the state, being pagan, could not be expected to enforce minimum Christian morals, so the church had to do the best it could. Church discipline was in the early church a *Verlegenheitslösung,* an effort to "make the best of a bad deal." Discipline was not the church's real business, since the church really should only preach.

We in Christian Europe, however—so runs the argument—are much better off, since we have a Christian government. Thus the church can get back to her real spiritual task, and the mundane administration of externals can be left to the Christian state, which is of course identical in essence and divine authority with that of Romans 13, but will be run more competently since Christians are at the helm. The state so well replaces the discipline of the early church that the members of the municipal council are for Zwingli identical with the presbyters in the New Testament. It need hardly be said that this introduction of the state into the church runs counter to the New Testament's knowledge of the nature and destiny of the *aion houtos* and the *exousiae.* This feeling that the world has already been subjected to Christ simply continues the belief of Augustine (stated in Reformation times most explicitly by Bucer) that the millennium began with Constantine.

Secondly there is the argument that our times are essentially worse than those of the apostles. The authority of the state in church discipline is explained as being conceded only because of an emergency situation (Ley, p. 90. Cf. Luther's term *Notbischof* for the prince). Once the

church is well established, the transition to a Biblical autonomous church can perhaps be undertaken.

The superficial historical error here is the belief that later it will be easier than now for the state to enfranchise the church. The modern parallel for this is found in Marxism, where, as with the Reformers, the state's guardianship is supposed to fade away, but instead confounds the theory by continuing to grow. But the real error is again eschatological; it is the assumption that there can be "normal" times, and that in such "normal" times the New Testament witness would be more relevant than it is now. Thus reserving Biblical authority for the kingdom means denying Biblical authority. If the church is not in an emergency where her life and obedience are daily fully dependent on the wonder-working grace of God, she is no longer the church. If the Biblical criteria of faith and life are not valid in an emergency they are never valid. Since Adam and Eve left the garden human existence has been by definition an emergency. Certainly the Reformed Church in Zürich was in danger for its life in 1525; show me a church that is not in danger for its life and I will show you an institution that is not the church. When Zwingli says in effect that he would introduce Biblical church discipline if things were a little worse and there were no Christian government, and that he might likewise introduce Biblical church discipline if things were a little better and he had a *really* Christian city, we are driven back to ask if this kind of casuistic juggling is what the Reformation was really about.

There would be other points at which to question Ley, such as his statement that the *ecclesiola* pattern was illegitimate in Strasbourg, but legitimate in Zürich. This much will suffice, however, to demonstrate that Ley's study is required reading for anyone who seeks, in Reformation studies, not only to sift and align names and dates, but to relive a classic episode of the struggle, which our century has seen break out again, to find what it means for the church that the Word became flesh. One hint to the reader: the best introduction to the book begins on page 125.

Basel, Switzerland John H. Yoder

Geschichte des Protestantismus in Oesterreich. By Grete Mecenseffy. Graz (Austria) and Köln (Germany): Herman Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1956. Pp. viii, 232.

The author of this excellent volume, professor of church history at the Protestant divinity school of the University of Vienna, is no stranger to us. Some years ago Dr. Grete Mecenseffy, as exchange professor, spent part of her American visit at Goshen College and other Mennonite centers. It was here that she became warmly interested in the ideas and practices of the Anabaptists and the life of their present-day descendants. Now a book comes to us from Europe which represents a real enrichment of our church historical literature: it contains a history of the Protestant movement and church in Austria, that is in the area of the present-day republic of that name. Protestantism here means almost exclusively Lutheranism inasmuch as the Reformed (Swiss) church hardly entered this territory before the nineteenth century. The Lutheran movement, however, was rather aggressive and strong all through the sixteenth century, at that time covering almost seven eighths of the population, lords, burghers, and peasants alike, until a revived Catholic church began its often ruthless counterattack. Its net result was the wiping out of the Lutheran church altogether, especially after the beginning of the Thirty Years' War (1618). At least it appeared this way to the Habsburg au-

thorities in Vienna. Underground, to be sure, the fires were still burning, and a *geheim* (i.e., undercover) Protestantism developed of extraordinary strength and tenacity. Bibles were hidden, but nevertheless they were read and the youth instructed in it. There ensued great hardship for all those who stuck out their necks: expulsion, enforced conversion (by taking away their children, etc.), and compulsory migration to far-off Transylvania. This situation prevailed almost unchanged until Emperor Joseph II, the "enlightened despot," took the courageous step of proclaiming toleration to all kinds of faith in 1781 (including Mennonites in far-away Galicia). Only the Hutterites failed to profit from this new trend in state-church relationship.

All of this and much more is stimulatingly told by Dr. Mecenseffy who masters her subject in all details and ramifications. Her book will no doubt become a standard treatise for a long time to come.

But what attracts us most at this point is the splendid chapter on the Austrian Anabaptists (pp. 35-45). To be sure it contains a rather condensed presentation of this story, but it is written in a spirit which makes one's heart warm. It represents a courageous undertaking in a volume of this kind. It must be remembered that a majority within the official church still considers Anabaptism as a sort of "fanatic fringe" of Protestantism which ought to be opposed by all means, and at best be mentioned only passingly as one of the great temptations of the Reformation. In the present volume no such value judgment may be found. The author's narrative is unbiased, vivid, and definitely sympathetic.

The Anabaptist beginnings of 1527-28, above all the work of the apostles Huth, Schiemer, and Schlaffer in Upper Austria (around the cities of Linz, Steyr, and Freistadt), are well summarized, yet without too much speculation concerning the origin of these new ideas. As we understand, Dr. Mecenseffy is just about to publish her newer findings in this area of background and origin in the *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*. The endless martyrdom of the brethren in the heroic early period of Anabaptism is given a large space in this chapter. Special attention is paid to the Anabaptist country par excellence, namely, Tyrol, where even members of the lower nobility either showed great sympathy for or even joined outright the brotherhoods. The exodus to Moravia and the towering leadership of Jacob Huter, the Tyrolean, are given due attention. With the tragic execution of Huter in 1536 the chapter closes, one may admit justifiably, since Moravia, the "promised land of the Anabaptists," not being a part of Austria, does not belong to the scope of the book. Of course Anabaptism was not yet dead even in the Tyrol, but its main strength was spent, and the postlude might seem of less interest in a church history of this character.

The appearance of a volume of such spirit and scope is highly to be welcomed. Now we are wishing the author all the best, strength and endurance, as she turns to her next task: the editing of the extant Anabaptist archive materials of Austria, a task taken over from the late Dr. Paul Dedic of Austria. Once finished, this work will continue the series of *Täuferakten* published in Germany partly under Mennonite auspices.

Western Michigan College of Education

ROBERT FRIEDMANN